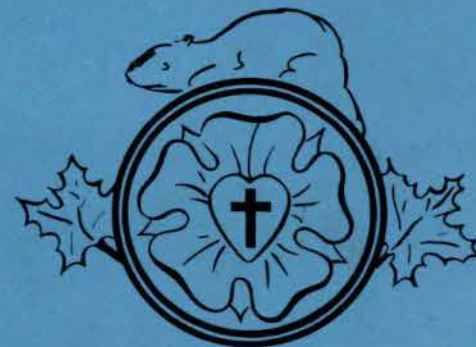


ADAM KEFFER
on
HIS FAMOUS JOURNEY

A
HISTORY
OF THE
LUTHERAN
CHURCH
IN
CANADA

VOLUME I

A History
of the
Lutheran Church
in Canada



VOLUME I

By
Carl R. Cronmiller



About the Author

CARL RAYMOND CRONMILLER was born in Port Colborne, Ontario. He received his education at Port Colborne public schools, Welland High School, Waterloo College and Waterloo Lutheran Seminary. Pastorates were at Brantford, Williamsburg, Welland, Port Colborne and Toronto.

During World War II he was a chaplain with the Royal Canadian Air Force.

In Synodical circles he served for ten years as a member of the Board of Governors of Waterloo College and Seminary and was the president of the Board for several years. Dr. Cronmiller was the secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada for two terms and its vice-president for six years.

In 1954 the university of Western Ontario conferred on him the D.D. degree.

He is the author of *Lutheran Gleanings* and has written an article on the Canada Synod for the *Lutheran World Encyclopedia*.



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PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF CANADA
TO MARK ITS CENTENNIAL, JULY, 1961
BY CARL RAYMOND CRONMILLER
PASTOR OF ST. PHILIP'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, TORONTO

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THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF CANADA

Published 1961

Saints and heroes, long before us,
Firmly on this ground have stood;
See their banners waving o'er us,
Conquerors through the Saviour's blood!
Ground we hold, whereon of old
Fought the faithful and the bold.

Justus Falckner

To their honor and their glory,
We shall tell the worthy story
Of the staunch Canadian Lutherans,
And relate it without shame.
We would have their children read it,
In their time sincerely heed it,
Be encouraged by these pages
To bear witness in His name.

Preface

Gleaning! What a fascinating work! Picking up stalks here and there; finding stems in unlikely places, in distant fields whither the winds of time have carried them; sometimes locating a group of stalks in dusty places where a thoughtful Boaz, mindful of the gleaner, has let fall a few handfuls on purpose. Such work has connected with it a magnetism. There is the thrill of the hunter, a tantalizing expectancy, the surprise of a sudden discovery, the joy of possessing. Magnetism! Thrill! Surprise! Joy! All these and more are the experience of those who pursue some line of research.

But alas! Not all who enjoy the hunt enjoy in equal measure the preparing of the quarry. Nevertheless, the armful of grain must not be left in the field; the deer which has been brought down by the hunter must not be left lying in the forest. The sheaf of the gleaner must be made available to others.

The writer would much prefer to continue gleaning and searching. There is no desire to rush this work into print prematurely lest lack of sufficient research or a temptation to stray into fiction, jeopardize the truth of which the historian is a guardian. There is a real desire to recreate the past, preserve selected memorable human events and meaningful divine acts in such a way as to eliminate many of the biases of the present.

Many factors would caution delay. But three hundred years have passed since the first Lutheran pastor set foot on what is now Canadian soil, and no one has taken in hand the task of writing an acceptable history of the Lutheran Church in Canada. Some efforts have been made but in each instance large sections of the Lutheran story were omitted. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada celebrated its centennial in 1961. There was an urgency that Volume I be completed by that time.

In 1934 the writer published a small booklet entitled *Lutheran Gleanings*. Some sections of that work are repeated in this effort. Other writers also have used *Lutheran Gleanings*, in some instances

reprinting verbatim long sections without the customary reference. The author expresses no objection to the above but mentions it only to protect himself in those passages which are common to the earlier work and to this volume.

The manuscript, prior to being submitted to the publisher, was made available to the Canada Synod Anniversary Committee, as a source of information for the series of film slides entitled, "Sowers of the Seed."

The reader may find a lack of literary craftsmanship, and the absence of many precious strands which have escaped the gleaner's eye. However, if this book answers the call for a source book of Canadian Lutheran facts, if it whets the appetite of Lutheran students so that others become interested in this undeveloped field, it shall have served its purpose.

Foreword

As the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada began to make preparations for a suitable observance of its centennial in the summer of 1961 it became apparent that a history of the hundred years of its existence should be a prime objective. There was a real need to have the story of the heroic pioneers of our church in Canada and those who built on the foundations laid by them, in a form available to the public.

A committee, charged with this responsibility, was appointed in 1958. The members were Dr. J. H. Reble, Dr. John Schmieder, Dr. C. R. Cronmiller and the Rev. Paul Eydé. After several meetings, during which the general outline of the history was agreed upon, the committee requested the Rev. C. R. Cronmiller D.D. to assemble the material and write the history. Dr. Cronmiller had long been a student of Lutheran lore, having published minor works on the subject. His choice as author of the history was a natural and logical one. The pages which follow are the result of this time consuming task.

There are various kinds of histories; documentary, interpretive, popular. Something of each is found in this volume. The history will be appreciated by pastors and students. The layman will find great pleasure in reading the story it conveys.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada is greatly indebted to Dr. Cronmiller and expresses its sincere gratitude for making the publication of this history possible.

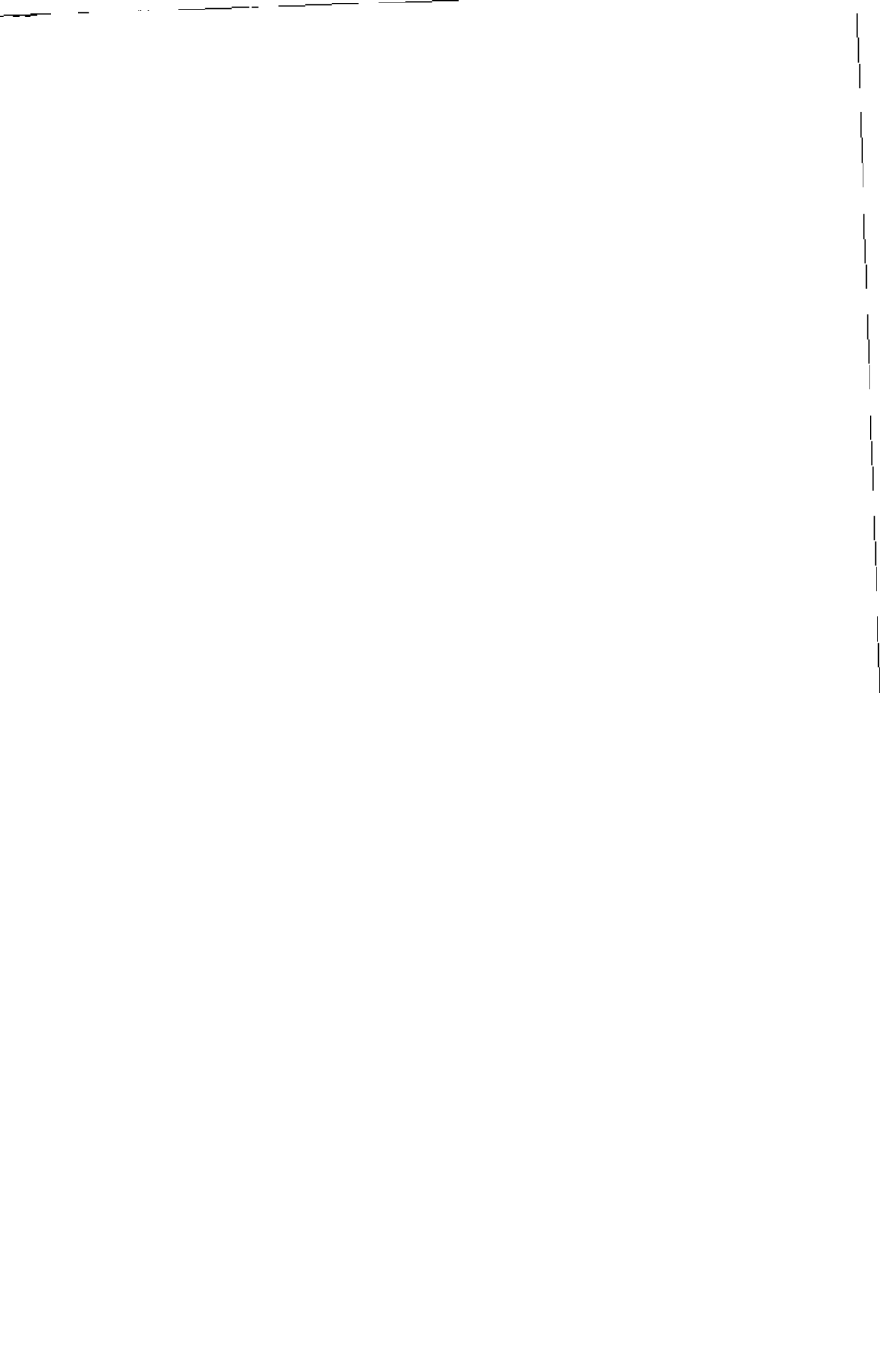
A. G. JACOB

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Introduction - The Lutheran Church

Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

Arthur Hugh Clough

THE REFORMER

The verses by Arthur Hugh Clough, when read in the light of the Reformation, remind us that there were harbingers of the Reformation who appeared before Luther. Lutherans are quick and eager to acknowledge the great contribution made by such forerunners. Among those who paved the way were the three Johns: John Wycliffe, John Huss, and John Wessel. It did seem when the forerunners had finished their work, "The enemy faints not, nor faileth, and as things have been they remain." But when "the fullness of time" for the Reformation arrived, Luther came on the scene "flooding in, the main."

In addition to the work of the harbingers and forerunners, history relates many factors which made the time ripe for the sixteenth-century Reformation of the Church. It was a time of social ferment and intellectual awakening, a time of revolt, renaissance and daring adventure. Men like Copernicus, Columbus, Magellan, Vasco da Gama, Gutenberg and Savonarola were in the news of that day. Learned Greeks fleeing before the Turks spread their knowledge in the west. It has been said that history is His story. The Lord of the Church fashions and overrules all things to serve His purpose. As He used the Roman network of roads, the universal Greek language, the decree of Caesar Augustus, to usher in the "fullness of time" for the birth of His Son, so He used the above-named factors to harrow the ground for the seed of the Reformation.

The general spirit of unrest and ferment found a parallel in the life of Martin Luther, but with him it was due to spiritual conflict, inner upheavals in his quest for God and salvation. Born November 10, 1483, of peasant parentage, the son of a miner, Martin Luther was reared in an atmosphere of strict discipline in home, school, and church. The justice of God was constantly emphasized and little was said of His mercy. Roland H. Bainton in his work on Luther writes thus:

Even more disconcerting than the fluctuation of the temperature of the afterlife was the oscillation between wrath and mercy on the part of the members of the divine hierarchy. God was portrayed now as the Father, now as the wielder of thunder. He might be softened by the intercession of his kindlier Son, who again was delineated as an implacable judge unless mollified by his mother, and if she were remote, one could enlist her mother, St. Anne.

The tensions of medieval religion were apparent in the young Luther. Following a fearful experience in a thunderstorm when he cried out, "St. Anne, help me! I will become a monk," he entered the Augustinian cloister at Erfurt, July 17, 1505. A determined effort was made to follow the ways prescribed by the Church. No legalist sought more than he to fulfil all righteousness. In fastings, penance, vigils, scourgings, he outdid his fellows, seeking peace and righteousness before God.

When the opportunity presented itself to represent his religious order at Rome, he set out with keen anticipation. Here was an opportunity to obtain for himself and family the great spiritual benefits available in Holy Rome. One disillusionment followed upon another. Luther stood aghast as he witnessed the ignorance, levity, and lax morals of the priests and monks. Doubts entered his mind as he climbed Pilate's stairs, doubts as to the value of this kind of penance, this kind of contact with supposedly holy things.

If this book were a biography of Luther, it would be profitable and truly enlightening to follow his experiences step by step. For the present purpose, it is sufficient to recall that when he was reading the Epistle to the Romans, the verse: "The just shall live by faith," convinced him that salvation is a gift of grace received into a believing heart. As he studied the Scriptures and lectured to his students, the evangelical doctrines came more and more into the foreground. In

1517 he nailed the Ninety-five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg, publicly burned the papal bull 1520, and appeared before the Diet of Worms, April 18, 1521.

That Diet witnessed a dramatic and significant scene. Luther standing before the Emperor and princes in the large crowded hall declared,

Since then your majesty and your lordships desire a simple reply, I will answer without horns and without teeth. Unless I am convinced by Scripture and plain reason—I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other—my conscience is captive to the Word of God, I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen.

Thomas Carlyle bears witness to this spiritual giant:

I will call this Luther a true, great man . . . great in intellect, in courage, affection, and integrity; one of the most lovable and precious men. Great not as a hewn obelisk, but as an Alpine mountain, so simple, honest, spontaneous. Ah, Yes, unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens. A right spiritual hero and prophet, for whom these centuries and many that are to come yet will be thankful to heaven.

PROTESTANTS

Dr. C. M. Jacobs, when president of Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, wrote in an article entitled, "The First Protestants":

A Protestant is thought of today as a Christian who is not a Roman or Greek Catholic; a non-Catholic or anti-Catholic. It should not be forgotten, however, that this is not the original meaning of the name. The Protestants were, first of all, a party of religious liberty. They were not men who protested against the beliefs and practices of the Church of Rome, but against decisions of the parliament. They were rulers of states who refused to allow that the vote of any majority could decide religious questions for a minority. Thus the first Protestants were men who gave political expression to the principle of liberty of conscience.

The protest was made by Lutheran princes at the Diet of Spire, 1529. Their action paved the way for political and religious liberty.

In line with the thoughts expressed by Dr. Jacobs, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick has well said:

The term "Protestant" has far outgrown its first meaning. The negative significance of the word in present usage is unfortunate for, while the Reformation certainly involved protest against Roman Catholicism, it was at heart an affirmation, a vigorous protestation of positive principles. The negative connotation of the word is obviously incompetent to express what the Reformation stood for. The Reformers certainly did dissent from and strenuously object to evils in current Romanism, but many leading Catholics, including popes, did the same. As Pope Adrian VI declared in 1523 about Luther's revolt: "We freely acknowledge that God has allowed this chastisement to come upon His Church because of the sins of men, and especially because of the sins of priests and prelates. We know well that for many years much that must be regarded with horror has come to pass in this Holy See." At the heart of the Reformation, however, was much more than negative dissent. From the beginning there was positive affirmation of basic principles.*

CATHOLIC (UNIVERSAL)

The Lutheran Church is indeed a Catholic Church. "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth and their words to the end of the world!" Lutheranism includes almost the entire population of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Estonia, and a majority of Germans. It is the third largest numerically among Protestants in the United States, and is represented among the minorities in most other countries. Religious statistics for the world reveal that members and adherents of the Lutheran Church number 72,000,000 and comprise two-fifths of the total Protestant forces.

Luther did not break with the Catholic Church, only with the Roman Catholic Church. As a distinct entity within the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church came into being in 1530 when it deposited its articles of faith in the document known as the Augsburg Confession. In this respect it outdates the Roman Catholic Church which did not officially define its body of doctrine until the meeting of the Council of Trent in 1563.

THE WORD

The Mother Church of Protestantism accepts the Word of God as the only standard according to which all doctrines and teachers alike are to be tested and judged. However, Lutherans do not make the

*Great Voices of the Reformation, used by permission of Random House.

Bible an idol or a paper pope. The confessions do not speak specifically of the canon of Scriptures but rather of the prophetic and apostolic scriptures of the Old and New Testament, prophetic of Christ and bearing witness to Christ. "The true treasure of the Church is the most holy gospel of the glory and grace of God" (Thesis 62). It is possible to know the Bible as a book and know its facts without having an evangelical understanding of its message. It is God's Word to man as he finds Christ in it.

The Word of God is essentially the Gospel of God concerning His Son, that is, the good news of God's creative and saving grace made manifest in Christ. The title "Word of God" belongs primarily to Christ Himself, the Word incarnate, for in Him God reveals and imparts Himself to men. It applies derivatively to the Christ-centred message of the Old and New Testaments, as well as to the proclamation of the Gospel in the Church.

A distinctive doctrine of the Lutheran Church is that the Word is a means of grace. It has a function as law but primarily its function is Gospel, witnessing to God's saving acts in redemption. God comes to man in Word and Sacraments, the Holy Spirit operating in these means imparting faith. Faith is not our work. It is God's work in us. Luther explaining the Third Article of the Apostles' Creed confesses: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason and strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to Him, but the Holy Ghost has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me by His gifts and sanctified and preserved me in the true Christian faith."

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH

Christ-centred in her teaching, the Lutheran Church clings tenaciously to the central doctrine of Justification by Faith. Man was created holy and innocent, but, as a result of the fall, sin is a basic condition of his personality, a principle in him which paralyzes his spiritual life until he is regenerated. "Man cannot be justified before God by his own power, merits or works, but is justified freely for Christ's sake through faith" (Augsburg Confession). Man's salvation from beginning to end is God's work and to God belongs the glory. The blood of Jesus Christ cleanses the believer from all sin. Therefore the Lutheran Church repudiates the delusion that Christ's atonement is

limited to certain sins and that man must himself atone for other sins with satisfactions which the church devises for him.

Luther's explanation of the Second Article of the Apostles' Creed is generally taught and believed:

I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord; Who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, secured and delivered me from all sin, from death and the power of the devil, not with silver and gold but with His holy and precious blood, and with His innocent sufferings and death; in order that I might be His, live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness; even as He is risen from the dead and lives and reigns to all eternity.

Luther's Small Catechism has played an important role in the Lutheran Church and its impact has been felt wherever the principles of Protestantism and Evangelical Christianity have permeated. No clearer or better balanced summary of the Bible has ever been prepared. In it is not the slightest word of polemics against any section of the Church. It was used in England before the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer. In part the Roman Catholic catechism of John Dietenberger is a verbatim copy of Luther's work. In all Lutheran churches, it is the basis for instruction preparatory to confirmation.

The confessions of the Church, bound together in the Book of Concord, are nine in number: The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Small Catechism, the Large Catechism, and the Formula of Concord.

Two Sacraments are acknowledged: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Accepting the words "This is my body," "This is my blood," Lutherans teach that Christ's body and blood are truly present in the Sacrament and are received by all communicants. Faith or its absence decides whether Christ is received for good or ill. Baptism is administered to both children and adults by the mode of pouring or sprinkling. It is not just a symbol but "a washing of regeneration." Man's "decision" has nothing to do with his regeneration just as it has nothing to do with his natural birth. Regeneration is an act of God. No unionistic effort is made toward the attainment of one visible Church on earth. The Church is the body of Christ, a living invisible organ-

ism, a fellowship of saints comprising all true believers, which permeates, transcends and vitalizes all ecclesiastical organizations and extends through all lands and ages into heaven itself where it becomes the Church Triumphant. Church and State are both ordained of God, and each has separate and clear-cut functions. Dominance over the other is not the prerogative of either. In the Scandinavian countries and Finland, the Lutheran Church is the State Church under nominal control of parliament. Conscience must be the guide when there is a conflict. Luther advised, "If your worldly master is wrong, and you know for certain that he is wrong, then fear God more than man and do not serve him."

Liturgical in form, the Lutheran Church observes the festivals and seasons of the church year, and uses altar, cross, candles, and vestments. Its worship service has two main elements: the Sacramental, that which God communicates to man, and the Sacrificial, that which man offers to God.

Lutherans do not stress prohibitions and regulations. The emphasis is on the evangelical interpretation of the Word of God. The Christian life is neither monastic, ascetic, nor sinless. It spontaneously produces good works and good character. The good works are the fruit of faith and not the cause of salvation. A statement from the Augsburg Confession is to the point:

Christian perfection is to fear God sincerely, to conceive great faith, and to trust assuredly that God is pacified toward us for Christ's sake; to ask and certainly look for help from God in all our affairs, according to our calling; and outwardly to do good works diligently, and to attend to our vocation. In these things doth true perfection and true worship of God consist; it doth not consist in singleness of life, in beggary or in vile apparel.

The Mother Church of Protestantism has had an influence upon nearly all other denominations. The imprint of her confessions is noticeable in most Protestant symbols. Reference is made here to two of the larger churches.

The Reformation in England felt the impact of Luther. At Oxford University, Luther's writings were so popular that the Roman Cardinal issued a special rescript against them. The Tyndale and Coverdale translations of the Bible were dependent in many passages on Luther's German translation of the Scriptures. Lutheran scholars

were invited to England for consultations, and the Lutheran Church existed in England at an early date. Holy Trinity, the old Hamburg Lutheran Church in London, was organized in 1618. King Charles II legalized the existence of the Lutheran Church in England on the basis of a royal charter granted in 1669, making it at that time the only legal Free Church in England. St. Mary's Lutheran Church in London was organized in 1694 with the help of the Lutheran Queen, Carolina. The third Lutheran church was the Royal Chapel of St. James, organized in 1700, through the influence of Prince George of Denmark, who was the consort of Queen Anne, and a Lutheran by faith. The pastors of this church ranked as court chaplains. George I brought with him from Hanover many artists and craftsmen. Among them were the musicians, George Friedrich Handel and Joseph Haydn, also the famous painters, Fuesli, Hickel and Lanterburg. Archbishop Cranmer, chairman of the committee to prepare the Book of Common Prayer, spent a year and a half in Germany in consultation with Lutheran leaders before beginning his task. He also imported two Lutheran professors to aid him after his return to England. When the Thirty-nine Articles (at first forty-two Articles) of the Church of England were formulated, the Lutheran Augsburg Confession and the Lutheran Württemberg Confession were consulted and parts of them were used even to the extent of appropriating much of the language. Bishop Whittingham at one time acknowledged: "The Augsburg Confession is the source of the XXXIX Articles, their prototype in form, their model in doctrine, and the very foundation of many of their expressions."

John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, while on a trip to Georgia in 1735, was amazed at the calmness and peace manifested by Lutheran Salzburger during a critical part of the voyage. He realized that they possessed something which was lacking in his own experience. Later, Wesley wrote in his *Journal* under date of May 24, 1738:

In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter-before-nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through Christ, I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

Philip Embury and Barbara Heck, founders of Methodism in the United States and Canada, were members of the Lutheran Church for several years. Their ancestors were German Palatines who sought refuge in England in the early years of the eighteenth century. The Embury's and Heck's were among those who were settled by the British Government in County Limerick, Ireland. Being without the services of a German pastor, their religious impressions came chiefly from the German school teacher, Philip Guier. About the middle of the eighteenth century, John Wesley visited them. Philip Embury was converted to Methodism. A few years after his conversion, Embury and his wife, together with his cousin, Barbara Heck, emigrated to New York where they again allied themselves with the Lutheran Church. Their names appear on the church records of St. Matthew's (formerly Trinity) Lutheran Church, New York, where they partook of communion and had several of their children baptized by Pastor John Albert Weygand. In 1761 Philip Embury became the teacher in "the new school house in Little Queen Street, next door to the Lutheran ministers." Five years later, in 1766, his name, together with Paul Heck, appeared on the subscription list for the building of Christ Lutheran Church, New York. However, before this new church was dedicated, Embury had conducted his first Methodist service. Following his death in 1775, the Embury and Heck families moved to Montreal whence, at the close of the war of the American Revolution, they journeyed to Upper Canada and settled in Augusta Township, eight miles east of Brockville, Ontario. In that district they laid the foundation for Methodism in Canada, their home serving as the headquarters for the first Methodist circuit riders.

In addition to this influence upon other Protestant Churches, the Church of the Reformation has quietly made an impression upon the Dominion of Canada from the days before this country was a Dominion or formed part of the British Commonwealth. She has made her contribution to the development of Canada from the date 1619 to the current year. A Lutheran clergyman preached upon this soil before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on this continent.

Champlain met and conversed with a Lutheran pastor at Quebec in the year 1629. Lutheran soldiers were among those who captured the great fortress at Louisburg in 1748. When the foundations of

Halifax were laid, Lutheran settlers were among the first immigrants. The United Empire Loyalists numbered in their group many a soldier and settler who were members of the Lutheran Church. In the early legislative assemblies of Upper Canada were to be found men of Lutheran faith. Before Confederation, a Lutheran Synod had been organized. Remove the Lutheran Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, Icelanders, Finlanders, Germans, etc., from the Dominion and much of Canada's story would lose its heroic features.

STATISTICS

The religious statistics released in the Dominion of Canada census returns reveal the numerical growth of Lutheran members and adherents for the past ninety years.

1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
37,935	46,350	63,982	92,524	229,864	286,458	394,194	401,153	444,923

The decade 1901-1911 witnessed the largest growth. In that ten-year period 137,340 Lutherans were added to the population. The German population increased by 26 per cent and the Scandinavian by 246 per cent.

The official figures for 1931 showed that the Lutheran percentage of growth, 1921-1931, was larger than any other religious group in Canada. The Baptists increased 5 per cent; United Church of Canada, 7 per cent; Anglican Church, 16 per cent; Lutheran Church, 23 per cent. Another 50,000 Lutherans were added to the population by 1951. The last returns for 1961 will not be available until 1962. Like other denominations, the Lutheran Church finds that there is a large discrepancy between the figures given in the census returns and the number of names on church membership rolls. This, in turn, presents a challenge to greater missionary endeavor.

In Search of the Northwest Passage

They that sail the sea tell of the danger thereof; and, when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat.

Ecclus. 43: 24

The visitor to Churchill, Manitoba, viewing the sights of that new ocean port on Hudson Bay, will not fail to notice the monument erected in 1931 by the Canadian Historical Society on which is inscribed the following:

PORT CHURCHILL

Discovered in 1619 by the ill-fated Danish Expedition under Jens Munck.

In 1689 the Hudson's Bay Company built the first Fort Churchill which in the same year was destroyed by fire. In 1717 the company rebuilt Fort Churchill, for nearly 200 years its most northerly post on the Bay, and the starting point of many Arctic explorations.

The Hudson Bay Railway was completed to this point on 1st April, 1929.

The first item of this inscription brings to mind the almost forgotten first chapter of Canadian Lutheran history. The Danish Lutheran captain, Jens Munck, discovered Port Churchill, September 7, 1619. His crew consisted of sixty-five men, the majority of whom were adherents of the Lutheran faith, and one a Lutheran pastor, Rev. Rasmus Jensen.

Jens Munck,¹ the captain of the expedition, was born in Norway, June 3, 1579. His father, Erik Munck, was a Danish nobleman. At the early age of twelve years, young Jens was forced to earn his own living. He chose a career on the sea. For a year he served on a Norwegian ship, and sailed into many European ports. The following year at the age of thirteen, we find him on a Dutch ship bound for Brazil. He was destined to spend seven years in that country—years of varied experiences, which included the sinking of the vessel on which

he was sailing, and after that serving as a shoemaker, painter, and businessman. He finally returned to Copenhagen on board a Dutch ship which he was instrumental in saving from destruction at the hands of the Spaniards, who were determined to confiscate the vessel on the grounds that it had come to Brazil to trade without license from the Spanish authorities. Following his return to Denmark in 1598, he engaged in commercial trade. Fifteen voyages were made to Baltic ports in the course of the next four years.

In 1610, Munck was appointed by the King of Denmark to lead an expedition in search of the northeast passage by way of Nova Zembla. The next year, war having broken out with Sweden, he was commissioned as captain in the Danish navy, in which office he won considerable fame. At the close of the war, he was sent on several important government missions, being a member of the special embassy sent to Spain in 1613, and being designated to the responsible task of conducting the Russian ambassadors from Denmark, by way of Archangel, to Russia.

It was just at this time that the eyes of the European nations were being turned to America and great efforts were being put forth to find, through northern America, the northwest passage to India. The pepper, cinnamon, cloves and allspices of the Indies; the silk and fine cloth of Central and Eastern Asia; the gems and precious stones of Ceylon and India: these were all in demand in Europe. But the transporting of these articles was by tedious routes to Constantinople, from whence by sailing vessels they were brought to the ports of Italy and then by way of Gibraltar or overland across the Alps they reached the markets of northern and western Europe. By this route the merchandise was a prey for robber bands. Furthermore when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople these routes became very insecure. The merchants of Europe began to search for safer highways to the East. The Portuguese (1497) rounded Africa and built up a trade with India. The discoveries of Columbus and Cabot suggested a new channel for this trade. It was felt that in the north of the new continent there would be found a passage leading through to Asia. Henry Hudson with his ship, *Discovery*, sailed into Hudson Bay on August 3, 1610, and is credited with being the discoverer of that inland sea which bears his name. Hudson was followed by Captain Thomas

Button in 1612 and shortly afterwards by Captain William Gibbons, Robert Bylot, and William Baffin.

Christian IV of Denmark and Norway had acquired possessions in the East Indies and established commercial relations. He was therefore especially interested in the search for the northwest passage. There is no question but that he was acquainted with the efforts put forth by the English explorers, his sister being the wife of King James I of England and he himself having visited the English Court on at least two occasions. Having decided to send an expedition of his own in search of the passage he chose the logical man for this service when he appointed Jens Munck to be the commander.

Munck kept an accurate diary of his trip which was published in Copenhagen in 1624 under the title, *Navigatio Septentrionalis*.² The original manuscript written during the course of the voyage is deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen. On the cover page of the original, near the top, are written these words: "The 14th—Mr. Rasmus the minister said—the world has been standing less than six thousand years, and—Master Gordon says, that the world has been standing more than six thousand years, and—." On the inside cover are the words: "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: My God, in him will I trust" (Ps. 91: 1, 2). On the second page is a prayer, "O, Thou Lamb of God that bearest the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, and grant us graciously a fair wind, and speed us well thither, where we wish to be, so that His Royal Majesty's expedition and voyage may be well performed, that I may deserve thanks, and have the good will of my master and the grace of God, friendship and a good conscience; that I may not do my neighbour any hurt, further than what I am graciously commanded. Be with me, O God, in all my ways, and be always my true companion and true guide, for the sake of Thy Holy Name, Amen."

The remainder of this article will be comprised chiefly of quotations from the translation of Munck's account.

Anno Domini, 1619: His Royal Majesty's ship *Enhiorningen* and the sloop *Lamprenen* having, by gracious Royal edict, been supplied with crew, victuals, munitions and other necessities of life for our navigation and journey in search of the northwest passage, and all

other arrangements having been completed, I, Jens Munck, in the name of Our Lord, sailed with the before-mentioned two ships from Copenhagen into the Sound on the 9th of May. There were 48 persons embarked on the ship *Enhjørningen* and 16 persons on the sloop *Lamprenen*.

In the Sound we awaited favorable winds which appeared on Whitsunday, May 16th, when we sailed from the Sound.

On the twenty-fifth of May the sloop sprung a leak obliging me to put into port at Karlsund. Upon investigation I found that the ship's carpenters had left open three bolt-holes which I ordered repaired. While at Karlsund one of my Coopers died, and to keep my crew intact I hired three young men to take the place of the deceased.

On the 30th of May, I sailed from Karlsund, making West Northwest for Heth Land, (Shetland) which we passed on the 2nd of June.

On the 4th of June, with westerly wind we navigated around the eastern point of Ferroë, also called Syderroë about four miles to the west, steering a course West North/West toward Greenland.

Finally on June 30th, after being delayed by storm and ice, we sighted the south Cap of Greenland, which the English call Cape Farewell.

On July 8th, the American side of the country passed into view, but the ice was too thick to permit us to reach shore.

Frobisher Bay was mistaken for the entrance to Hudson Strait but eventually they came to Cape Best, the correct entrance.

July 12th, I cast the lead about half a mile from Munckenes (Cape Best) and touched bottom at 150 fathoms, on the same day I shot two or three birds after which the gun exploded and took the rim off the front of my hat.

It was the 13th of July, when need and danger were at their greatest, with the ice forcing upon us from all sides, that the officers advised to take in sails and fasten the sloop *Lamprenen* to the ship *Enhjørningen*. This was done and, commending ourselves to God and trusting to His merciful help, we drifted along with the ice.

As we at great danger drifted to and fro in the ice, the ice blew a big knee in one side of the ship, right below the head of the ship, though held in place by 6 big iron bolts. I put all my carpenters to work to straighten the knee but the job was too great for them and they had to give up. I managed to turn the ship so as to face the misplaced knee toward the drifting ice, trusting that the tremendous force of the ice would push the knee back in place. This actually happened as well as if twenty carpenters had set about the task. Later the carpenters tightly fastened the bolts that had become crooked by the impact.

After considerable difficulty with ice, and delay caused by going off their course into Ungava Bay, they came to Mansfield Island at the entrance to Hudson Bay. Little difficulty was experienced in crossing the Bay. Port Churchill, on the western shore, was discovered on September 7, 1619.

Sept. 7th, when in spite of storm, snow, hail and fog, we had put into harbour, I had the shallop, which was in 6 pieces, put together and went ashore. We lit a fire so that *Lamprenen*, which had drifted away from us in the storm, might more easily locate us. We sighted her on Sept. 9th. The crew on the *Lamprenen* had suffered much during the severe storm.

Two men were sent out to search for a better harbor. They reported no better harbor, Munk having landed at the best harbor on the west coast of Hudson Bay.

We held a council on Sept. 18th, to decide just what to do, since snow and frost were now bitterly felt. All officers considered it wise and finally concluded: that since winter began to make itself felt increasing in severity day by day, we had better immediately move the ship to some place in the harbour where it might be safe from drifting ice.

On Oct. 3rd, I arranged to have the crew from *Lamprenen* eat on board the *Enhiorningen* in this way keeping but one galley.

On Oct. 4th, I distributed among the crews, clothing, shirts, shoes and boots, and other articles which might help them fight the cold.

On Oct. 5th two large fireplaces were built on deck, one before and the other behind the mast and a third one aft, each of which would accommodate 20 men. The cook's cabin, in which he did his cooking, was left free to himself.

Oct. 22nd, the ice had frozen solid and it was bitterly cold. That night we caught a black fox. After this the crew began to go hunting during the day, some setting traps in the forest, others building a house in which to keep watch for game, as they call it in Norway. Others again set out with rifles, for there were plenty of rabbits and white grouse as well as other sorts of birds. Thus while the snow was not too deep, which was right up to Christmas, everyone enjoyed going into the woods and fields for game, for whenever the weather was good they never failed to bring home something.

On the 10th of Nov. which was Martinmas-eve the crew had shot several white grouse which we contented ourselves with instead of Martinmas goose.

On Dec. 12th, one of my Doctors died on the *Lamprenen*. His name was David Velske. We had to leave him unburied for two days because no one could, because of the frost, get ashore to attend to it.

The Holy Christmas Day was celebrated in customary Christian fashion. We had a sermon and Communion; and our offerings to the minister after the sermon, were in accordance with our means. The crew had very little money, nevertheless, they gave what they had; some gave white fox furs, so that the minister had enough wherewith to line a coat. However, sufficiently long life to wear it was not granted him.

January 10th, Our Minister, the Reverend Rasmus Jensen and Dr. M. Casper Caspersen went to bed after having for some time felt ill and henceforth violent sickness spread among the crew increasing day by day. It was a peculiar ailment in which nearly everyone so inflicted suffered dysentery three weeks before they died. My best cook died this day.

January 21st, we had now thirteen persons laid up sick. This day I inquired from the Doctor, who was mortally ill, if he had among his medicine a remedy that might prove a means of recovery for the crew as well as for himself. He answered, as often before, that he had already used all such remedies as he had brought along and which he thought would be of value. If the Lord would not help he knew of no other means by which we might bring our sick back to health.

January 23, Hans Brock, one of my mates died after a sickness that had lasted almost five months. The weather was beautiful with wonderful sunshine and the minister sat up in his berth and preached to the crew, which was his last sermon in this world.

February 5th, Boatswain Laurids Bergen died. Again I sent a message to the Doctor, beforementioned M. Casper Caspersen, entreating him in the name of the Lord to make known to me any remedies that he might have and which might cure our sickness. But he answered as before, that if the Lord would not help, there was nothing to do.

February 16th, these days brought nothing but weakness and sickness, and each day added to those already sick. On this day there were but seven persons in good health able to fetch wood and water and do chores. Another boatswain died; he had been sick during the entire journey.

February 20th, towards evening the Rev. Rasmus Jensen died after having been sick for some time.

March 1st, Jens Borringholm and Hans Skudenes died and since the sickness had so spread as to practically include everyone, it became increasingly difficult to bury the dead.

March 4th, a mild day, during which we caught five grouse, that were very welcome, we had soup on them and served it to the sick, who could not, however, eat of the meat, because of scurvy that had infested their mouths.

March 21st, these days the weather was very unsteady and most of the crew were, alas, sick. It was pitiful to witness all this misery. Dr. M. Casper Caspersen and Povel Pedersen died after having been confined to bed since Christmas. The sickness continued to spread

and it became indeed difficult for those of us who were as yet well to look after the burials.

March 27th, I went through the late Doctor's chest to familiarize myself with what remedies were on hand, so that I might make the best use thereof, having no doctor to depend upon. But it was very neglectful that no inventory of the contents of the medicine chest had been made with an explanation as to how to use the various medicines. I know and indeed am willing to stake my life on the fact: that in this chest were many items that my late Doctor did not know, nor for what ailment they were to be employed; for all names were given in Latin, of which he had known but very little. In fact, whenever he needed a certain medicine, the minister invariably had to read and interpret the Latin for him.

March 30th, heavy frost. Arffuedsen Thimmermand died. My tribulations were indeed difficult to bear; I felt as a wild, forsaken bird. I would run around the ship with drinks for the sick, cook such food as was on hand and from which they might derive nutriment. A difficult task, more so because I had never before done it.

April 13th, I had a bath which I had prepared with many different herbs, found in the late doctor's chest, and which were fitted for such use. Then all those who were well enough to take a bath, did so, and we all felt better afterward (The Lord be praised), particularly myself.

April 14th, heavy frost. Only five of us were well enough to sit up and listen to a Good Friday sermon.

May 3rd and 4th. During these days the under-cook and myself were the only two persons who left their bunks, even for a minute.

June 4th. Whitsunday. Only four alive including myself and too sick to help each other. Our stomachs were hungry enough, and there was nothing wrong with our appetites, but our teeth could not chew any solid food and not one was strong enough to bring us a drink of wine. The cook's boy was dead by my side and three others dead not far from me. Two men were ashore and anxious to return to the ship but without strength enough to do so. For four days all of us went without food. I expected nothing else but that the Lord would soon end our sufferings and take us unto Him. And since I was fully convinced that the end would soon come and that I was about to write my last note in this world, I wrote the following: Because I do not expect to live very much longer in this world, I pray in the name of the Lord: that if any Christian persons should come to this place after my death, they will bury the dead, including my own poor body, and receive their reward from the Lord. And also that this account may be forwarded to my graceful Master and King. (For every word written herein is true.) Thus my poor wife and children may obtain some benefit from my tribulations and final death. I bid the whole world Good Night and recommend my soul to the mercy of the Lord.

JENS MUNCK

June 8th, when at length I could no longer stand the smell and stench from the dead bodies that laid unburied about the ship, I started as best I could to get out of the bunk (God's wonderful providence had saved my life until now) thinking it mattered little where I died: out among the other dead or here in the bunk. When out of the bunk I staggered around the deck and gathered garments from the dead with which to protect myself. On the second day, when the two people on shore saw me still alive, they immediately assisted me in getting ashore. The ship was about twelve to fourteen fathoms from shore. There, under bushes, we lived for some time making a fire during the day. Whenever we saw a green spot or the least bit of vegetation come out of the ground we crawled along and dug it up with our hands, taking such nutriment from it as we could. It became warmer and we all began to feel better.

June 18th, as the ice drifted away from the ship we contrived at low water to set out a net, which when the tide came in, God Himself must have put six big trout in it. I cooked them myself and the two others went to the *Lamprenen* to fetch some wine. It was a long time since we had enjoyed a meal and wine. As we now daily caught fresh fish, which we boiled well, and ate the soup, (We could not eat the meat of the fish at all because of our weakened condition) and drank wine, we gradually felt stronger.

June 26th. In the name of Jesus and after praying to the Lord that He would assist us, we commenced to bring *Lamprenen* up to *Enhiörningen* and to make our sails clear, as well as we could. The task ahead of us was a big one, however, because the winter flood had placed the *Lamprenen* high on shore, so we had to discharge the entire cargo and then await a high tide upon which to float her. This we finally did and brought her alongside the *Enhiörningen*. Before we could move about in the *Enhiörningen* for smell and stench, we had to first throw overboard the corpses still unburied and which were in the process of decay. We then proceeded to carry victuals and other important supplies from *Enhiörningen* to *Lamprenen*, managing the task as best we could.

July 16, Sunday, in the afternoon we set sail again, in the name of God, and commenced our return journey.

On August 14, 1620, they entered Hudson Strait at the western end and four days later arrived at Cape Best. Braving strong winds, heavy rain and fog, besides being handicapped by a leaking ship, they arrived in sight of the Shetland Islands on September 13.

Sept. 13th. According to my observation we were near Hethland, when we sighted a ship, which we eventually approached near enough to be able to talk to her crew. I asked for succour but because of the weather they were unable to assist.

Sept. 20th. Sighted Norway.

Sept. 21st. Got into harbour south of Allen (Alden Island) with

strong winds. When I came inside the rocks in the fiord I could at no place find satisfactory conditions for anchoring, for I had but half of one anchor left. Towards evening and seeing no one on shore to help us, I proceeded onwards into the Bay, where I dropped the remains of my anchor. Having no boat, we were unable to anchor the ship with cables on shore. Late that evening a farmer happened to pass by, and I had to threaten him with a musket to make him assist us in bringing a cable ashore. In the morning I went by boat to his Royal Majesty's sheriff at Sunfiord that he might assist us with crew and money in bringing the ship into Bergen.

Having taken care of the ship and being again in a Christian country, we all broke down and cried thanking God for His wonderful assistance.

September 25th. I arrived at Bergen and went immediately to a doctor to obtain advice and medicine. I ordered, also, drink and medicine for my two men.

September 27th. Wrote to the authorities in Denmark reporting our return.

Munck closes his Journal with the following beautiful prayer:

Almighty, Eternal God, gracious Father and Heavenly Master, Who hath commanded that we come to Thee whenever we are in need, and Who hath promised that Thou wilt graciously listen to our prayers and save us, so that we may thank Thee for Thy mercifulness and singular deeds towards mankind. During my long and perilous journey I have suffered want and danger yet felt Thy gracious helpful guidance, for Thou hast saved me from ice and storm and sea. Thou wast my first and highest Mate, Advisor and Compass. Thou hast guided and accompanied me both back and forth. Thou hast saved me from fear, pest and sickness, so that I with Thy aid have regained my health and returned to the land of my fathers, which I believe to be wholly Thy work, and not because of any personal cleverness on my part. Wherefore I humbly thank Thee, O Thou my gracious Father, from the depths of my heart. And I pray that Thou wilt give me the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, so that I may always be thankful to Thee in prayer and deeds, to Thy glory and to my confirmation in faith and a clear conscience. O Holy Trinity be forever praised and thanked, for this as for all Thy benefactions. To Thee alone belongs power and glory, everlastingly. Amen.

Thus, six years before the Jesuit priests arrived in Quebec, eight months before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and twenty years before the Swedish Lutheran pastor, Peorus Torkillos, arrived in Delaware, Lutheran services were conducted and the Holy Communion administered by the Rev. Rasmus Jensen, whose body lies mingled with soil at Port Churchill.

Captain Munck had come and gone, but evidence of his visit remained. Jérôme, who was commander at Fort Bourbon from 1709 to 1714, wrote:

When springtime came the ice went out with its usual impetuosity, and carried away their ship and everything in it except an eight-pounder brass cannon which was left behind, and which is still there, undamaged but for the button of the cascabel. . . . Next summer, when the natives reached the place, they were much astonished to see so many dead bodies and moreso as they had never seen men of that kind before. Terror stricken, at first they ran away, not knowing what to make of such a sight. Then, when fear had given way to curiosity, they went back thinking they would secure the richest spoils that had ever been obtained. Unfortunately there was powder, and knowing nothing of its properties or its powers, they foolishly set fire to it, with the result that they were all killed, and the house and everything in it were burned up. So the others who came later got nothing except the nails and pieces of iron, which they gathered up from the ashes.³

In Captain James Knight's *York Fort Journal* for the year 1716-1717, there are several references to Jens Munck, from which we quote the following:

We weighed and went about five miles up the river from the place where we first came to and are up opposite to where the Danes wintered. . . . I burnt and cleared a place where I design the factory to stand, which I believe to be the very place where Captain Munck built upon when he wintered here, by the brass gun and the square pieces of cast iron which we have found there and by the Northern Indians digging up the moss and stones about the rocks for about one-half a mile around. The place is the best on the river. . . . Although they were Danes and a hardy sort of people, here lies near 130 of the buried (130 would include the Indians) and a great many of their graves be under some part of our building. I pray God preserve and keep us.⁴

T. Hutchins, in his *Observations of Hudson Bay*, states:

Munck wintered at Churchill River. I have seen the bricks and other marks where he had his house, and two of his cannon have been found, one of which in my time at Churchill, about the size of a three-pounder and marked: Christian the IV of Denmark.

The Hudson Bay Railway to Port Churchill was completed April 1, 1929, and one of the stations was named "Munck." A park has been designated "Munck's Park."

Preparations were made in Denmark to send another expedition to Hudson Bay in 1621, but these plans did not materialize. Munck was made an admiral in the Danish Norwegian Navy where he served honorably until his death which occurred June 24, 1628.

The northwest passage surrendered its secret in 1906 to another man from Lutheran Norway, Roald Amundsen. Amundsen sailed his little seventy-footer *Gjøa* from Norway in the spring of 1903. It took him three years to complete his perilous journey, but by the autumn of 1906 he had sailed around North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He passed out of Bering Strait on September 1, 1906, and put into Nome, the conqueror of the northwest passage which men had sought to find for more than four centuries.

May it also be stated in closing this chapter that it was a man from the Lutheran countries of Finland and Sweden, Adolf Eric Norden-skeold, who by way of the Kara Sea conquered the northeast passage and on July 18, 1879, sailed through the Bering Strait.

Quebec, the Storied Citadel

On his second voyage to Canada, Jacques Cartier found and named the great river St. Lawrence. He came to the village of Stadacona, the present site of Quebec, where during the winter of 1535-1536 his men, like Munck's crew at Churchill, suffered greatly from the terrible disease of scurvy.

In the preface of Cartier's narrative of his second voyage, there is a florid address to the King and a denunciation of Lutherans, as people to be put to death. In justice to Cartier, let it be stated that many authorities are of the opinion that the manuscript narrative of the second voyage was not composed by Cartier himself.

Edmund H. Oliver in *The Winning of the Frontier* states that Louis of France first sent priests to Canada to compensate the church for European losses due to "those wicked Lutherans."

In the days of Sieur de Monts and the de Caen brothers, several of the French voyages to Acadia and Quebec were under the command of the Huguenots, and both Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy formed part of the personnel. At that time the names Huguenot and Lutheran were sometimes used interchangeably. It is quite possible that there were some Lutherans among the Huguenots.

Sieur de Monts, commissioned Lieutenant-General in Acadia with vice-regal powers, set sail from France in April, 1604. Francis Parkman writes:

Here were Catholic priests and Huguenot ministers for though de Monts was a Calvinist, the Church as usual displayed her banner in the van of the enterprise, and he was forced to promise that he would cause the Indians to be instructed in the dogmas of Rome. . . . Scarcely were they at sea when ministers and priests fell first to discussion, then to quarrelling, then to blows.¹

A few years later there were yet many Protestants among the ships' crews at Quebec. Parkman continues his description:

Some of the merchants were of Rouen, some of St. Malo. Some were Catholics, some were Huguenots. Hence uneasy bickering. All exercise of the Reformed religion, on land or water was prohibited within the limits of New France, but the Huguenots set the prohibition at naught roaring their heretical psalmody with such vigor from their ships in the river that the unhallowed strains polluted the ears of the Indians on shore.

Whether or not there were Lutherans among the Huguenots, it is certain that there was a Lutheran chaplain with the Kirke brothers when they captured Quebec in 1529. It is necessary to become acquainted with the family history of the Kirke brothers in order to understand later developments in which the Lutheran chaplain was implicated.

Gervase Kirke,² the father of these brothers, was born in England near Sheffield. At an early age he went to London where he became a merchant. His business took him to France where he made his home at Dieppe, which was then the principal seaport. In 1596 he married Elizabeth Goudon, daughter of a French merchant of that place. To this marriage there were born five sons and two daughters. The three eldest sons, David, Lewis, and Thomas, were educated in France and trained for the sea. These boys had possibly seen and certainly heard much of the de Monts, Champlain, and other explorers to Canada, for the ships of those men were financed by the merchants of Rouen and Dieppe.

Upon his return to England Gervase Kirke associated himself with the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London. In 1627, war having been declared between England and France, Kirke became a partner in the company formed by Sir William Alexander. This company obtained a patent from King Charles authorizing them to make a voyage to Canada to settle a district and have exclusive right of trade. They were empowered to seize French vessels and goods and drive out the French.

The same year Cardinal Richelieu established the Company of New France, which company was to send three hundred tradesmen to Canada and a large number of settlers whom they were to supply with necessities for three years. A race ensued between the English and French companies to see which could gain the power in Canada.

In the spring of 1628 three ships under the command of David,

Lewis, and Thomas Kirke, representing the English Company, set sail for Canada. A few days later twenty vessels of the Company of New France, equipped with food, building supplies, cannon ammunition, immigrants and priests, sailed from France under Monsieur de Roquemont. The English vessels reached North America first. They were successful in their attack on the French settlements and Fort of Cape Tourment. The vessels proceeded up the river to Tadousac at the mouth of the Saguenay. There David Kirke on July 18 wrote a letter to Champlain, who was in command of the French fortress at Quebec. He informed the French commander of his victories and the seizure of the French vessels, including one with provisions for the new company, and called upon him to surrender. A chivalrous answer was sent back by Champlain in which he refused to capitulate. Kirke, expecting to meet Roquemont and his squadron, decided not to attack Quebec. He burnt all the French vessels which he had captured and returned down the river to meet the enemy. Due to a storm the twenty French vessels had sought shelter at Gaspé. The three English ships attacked. After a speedy battle, in which Roquemont was wounded, the French ships surrendered. Ten of the enemy vessels were destroyed. The most valuable stores were taken to Newfoundland. The Kirkes returned to England with many valuable prisoners, much goods and 138 enemy cannon.

It has been impossible to ascertain whether or not the Lutheran chaplain accompanied this first expedition. Certain it is that he was with Lewis Kirke on board the *William* when the second expedition set sail March 25, 1629. There were six ships and three pinnaces all well armed. After replenishing supplies at Newfoundland the squadron reached Gaspé on June 15. David Kirke in command of the *Abigail* sailed up to Tadousac where he was joined in a few days by his brothers, who were delayed due to visiting the Nova Scotia settlements. Lewis and Thomas Kirke then proceeded to Quebec. The French fortress, though excellently situated, was in dire condition due to lack of food and ammunition. Champlain decided to surrender. It was agreed that Kirke should show his commission, that Champlain and others should be carried back to England and the French officers be allowed their robes and books. On July 20, 1629, Lewis Kirke was handed the keys of the magazine and took possession of the fort.

The next day the Kirkes and the Lutheran chaplain visited the monasteries. The historian Le Moine, quoting from another work, writes,

We read of a visit paid to the Récollet and Jesuit monasteries, on the banks of the St. Charles, by Captain Lewis Kirke; The Rev. Fathers begged of him to accept a few of their paintings, and the parson who accompanied Kirke asked the Fathers for a few books, which they were glad to tender him. One would be curious to know to what department of literature the Reverend, Lutheran minister, took such a strong fancy whilst looking over the library of the Quebec Jesuits.³

David Kirke took Champlain and the other prisoners back to England, while his brother Lewis was placed in command at Quebec. For a time things seemed to go well, but soon a lack of harmony between the commander and his men was evident. The trouble was due to differences in nationality and religion.

Champlain's record states:

Lewis Kirke was courteous, having some of the French nature in him, and loving the nation. He was the son of an Englishman who had married a French woman at Dieppe, so he desired to oblige the French families (of whom a number had remained at Quebec) preferring their conversation to that of the English, to whom his humour was repugnant.⁴

Le Moine says:

French proclivities occasionally cropped out in his intercourse with blunt British soldiers. Unfortunately for the general welfare, he allowed himself to be ruled by some perfidious counsellors, French in their leanings. Hence the origin of the trouble. Diversity of faith only served to make more apparent diversity of race. Kirke, the Huguenot, was a Calvinist, whilst the clergyman who accompanied the expedition was a Lutheran. The British soldiers sided with the disciple of Luther; matters getting every day worse, a plot was laid to dispatch the Governor, together with his French sympathizers. Kirke found it out; he punished summarily the conspirators and incarcerated the Lutheran minister in the Jesuit's residence, on the banks of the meandering St. Charles, for six months. This for the time being caused a cessation of Public Worship.⁵

Just what part the clergyman had in this rebellion, it is difficult to find out. It would seem that Kirke welcomed this incident as an excuse for discontinuing the religious services of one whose views differed from his. Dealing with this subject, in *The Makers of Canada*, a writer says:

The Lutheran Minister who decided to remain at Quebec with Kirke's men, had much to suffer. His advice was not accepted by his own people, and he was, moreover, kept in prison for period of six months under the pretext of inciting the soldiers of the garrison to rebellion.⁶

The Jesuit priest, Le Jeune, recording in his *Relation* a conversation with the minister, sympathetically writes, "They held this poor minister a prisoner in our house for six months."⁷

The exact time when this period of imprisonment started and ended we do not know. But evidently freedom was granted before February 19, 1631, for on that date⁸ the minister baptized Elizabeth Couillard, daughter of Guillaume Couillard, who was born February 9 of that year. Lewis Kirke presented the child for baptism, the parents were Roman Catholics, the mother being a daughter of Louis Hébert, the first habitant in Canada who industriously raised enough from the soil to support his family.

The English occupation of Quebec ended July 5, 1632. By the terms of the treaty of St. Germain-en-laye, Quebec was handed back to France in return for the payment of the unpaid half of the dowry of Queen Henrietta Maria.

The War of the Spanish Succession, which had driven many Germans from their homes in the Palatinate, was still in progress when they settled on the Upper Hudson in the British province of New York. They were given an early opportunity to show their loyalty to the British Crown.

In 1711 an expedition was sent out from England under General Hill and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. Contact was made with the New England colonies, and it was decided that the fleet under Hill and Walker should proceed to the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec.⁹ At the same time a land force of provincial troops under Colonel Nicholson was to march by way of Lake Champlain route, to attack Montreal. In Nicholson's army were three hundred of the recently arrived Palatines, many of whom were under the Lutheran captain, Conrad Weiser.¹⁰ The expedition, however, failed to attain its objective. The incompetence of Hill and Walker and the lack of experienced river pilots resulted in the fleet being wrecked on one of the Egg Islands in

the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Eight ships were lost and hundreds of men drowned.

The commanders in disgrace turned back with the remainder of the fleet. The frigate, *Sapphire*, was dispatched to Boston with news of the wreck. Runners were sent to Wood Creek on Lake Champlain where Nicholson and his men were encamped. The land force was thoroughly disgusted when they received the news of the fleet's disaster. Exclaiming "Roguery! Trickery!" Nicholson caused the wooden forts which he had built to be burned, and marched back to Albany where the army was disbanded. Thus the Palatines under Weiser were denied the chance to repay the French for the destruction of their homes along the Rhine. But the Palatines were later to play a part in bringing the northern part of this continent under the influence of English and Protestant forces.

High above the main entrance of Quebec City post office a stone is set into the lintel bearing the likeness of a golden dog gnawing a bone. The accompanying French words may be translated:

I am a dog who gnaws a bone;
While gnawing it, I take my rest.
A time will come, which is not yet,
When I shall bite him who has bitten me.

This plaque was first placed above the store of Nicholas Philibert and by it he taunted Bigot, the intendant of New France, who plundered the colony with his trade monopoly. When the new post office was built the plaque was salvaged and placed above the Buade Street entrance.

A replica of "Chien d'Or" has been carved on the gothic arch of the parliamentary library at Ottawa to retain for posterity the fact or legend of the Golden Dog.

William Kirby, in his opening lines of his Canadian classic, *The Golden Dog*, introduced to the Canadian public the Swedish scientist and Lutheran theologian, Peter Kalm.¹¹ Kalm is the speaker in the first paragraph and he is addressing himself to Count de la Galissonnière, Governor of New France. It is the year 1748.

"See Naples and die." That was a proud saying, Count, which we used to hear as we cruised under lateen sails about the glorious bay, that reflects from its waters the fires of Vesuvius. We believed the

boast then, Count. But I say now "See Quebec and live forever." Eternity would be too short to weary me of this lovely scene . . . this bright Canadian morning is worthy of Eden, and the glorious landscape worthy of such a rising sun.

Many people in North America have seen the American mountain laurel, but have failed to associate its botanical name, *Kalmia latifolia*, with the Lutheran scientist.

Peter Kalm, son of a Lutheran clergyman, was born in March, 1716, in the Province of Angermanland, Sweden.¹² Graduating from Abo (now Turku) Academy, Finland, 1735, he began his studies for the Lutheran ministry. Through the influence of Bishop Johann Brovalius, who recognized Kalm's ability in scientific research, he changed his academic course from theology to a study of science. At the University of Upsala he studied under the celebrated scientist, Linnaeus (Karl Von Linné). After scientific travels through Sweden and Finland, he accompanied Linnaeus, in 1744, on a tour of Russia. The following year Kalm was elected to the Swedish Academy of Sciences, and engaged by the University of Abo as professor in agriculture. He was a keen research student who turned his findings into practical use. When, in 1747, the Swedish Academy of Sciences decided to send a naturalist to North America to find new varieties of plants and seeds, Peter Kalm was chosen for the mission.

Kalm departed from Upsala, October 16, 1747. After experiencing shipwreck on the coast of Norway, and several months' delay in England, he finally reached Philadelphia, September 13, 1748, where he was welcomed by Benjamin Franklin. Here he began his collection of plants, finding several new species. Leaving Philadelphia early in October, Peter Kalm proceeded to Trenton, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown and New York. November 20, 1748, he arrived at Racoon (Swedesboro), N.J., where he remained for six months. Racoon was the centre of a Swedish settlement, a Swedish Lutheran Church having been organized there in 1698. Shortly after Kalm's arrival, the Rev. John Sandin, pastor of the church, died. Peter Kalm, who had studied theology, occupied the pulpit frequently during the period of his stay in Swedesboro. Many notes were made in his record book during these months, notes on religious matters, notes on plants, seeds, and various other topics, including Negro slaves and Indians.

In the summer and autumn of 1749, Kalm visited Montreal and Quebec in Canada. Departing from Swedesboro, May 19, 1749, he proceeded by way of New York, Albany, and Lake Champlain to Fort St. Jean. There letters of welcome were awaiting him from the Governor General of Canada, the Marquis de la Galissonnière. The Swedish scientist arrived in Montreal, July 24. Giving his impressions of Montreal, he describes the city, the mountain, the inhabitants, the churches, the Roman Catholic College and Seminary, the nunnery of the Sœurs de la congregation de Notre-Dame, and the Jeanne Mance hospital.

The trip by river to Quebec proved very interesting to the young scientist. His description of the roadside crosses is familiar to the present-day traveller.

There are crosses put up by the roadside which is parallel to the shores of the river. These crosses are very common in Canada, and are put up to excite devotion in the travellers. They are made of wood five or six yards high and proportionately broad. In that side which faces the road is a square niche in which they place an image of our Saviour, or the Holy Virgin with the Child in her arms, and before that they put a piece of glass to prevent its being spoiled by the weather. Everyone who passes by crosses himself, raises his hat, or does some other act of reverence. Those crosses which are not far from churches are very much adorned, and they put up about them the instruments which they think the Jews employed in crucifying our Saviour, such as hammer, tongs, nails, a flask of vinegar, and perhaps more than were actually used. A figure of the cock, which crowed when St. Peter denied Our Lord, is commonly put at the top of the cross.

The Marquis de la Galissonnière welcomed Kalm to Quebec, August 6, 1749. Kalm says of the Governor: "He has a surprising knowledge in all branches of science, and especially in natural history, in which he is so well versed that when he began to speak with me about it I imagined I saw our great Linné under a new form." Kalm witnessed the induction of the new Governor, the Marquis de la Jonquière, and was a guest at the state dinner on that occasion, but he regretted that his host, the scholarly de la Galissonnière, would return to France on the first boat.

Kalm collected valuable data on fall wheat, shrubs, trees, and grain during his stay in Quebec. He visited the Jesuit College, the Seminaries, and the Convent of the Récollets, having dinner with the Jesuits. To

Peter Kalm, the Lutheran, was given an unusual privilege, that of visiting the cloistered convents of the Hospitalières and the Ursulines. The Abbess of one of the Roman Catholic institutions informed him that she and her sisters would heartily ask God to make him a good Roman Catholic. Kalm says: "I answered her that I was far more anxious to be and remain a good Christian and that as a recompense for their honors and prayers I would not fail earnestly to ask God that they too might remain good Christians."

After a five-week visit, Kalm left Quebec, October 11, to return to Swedesboro, N.J. He had been entertained royally "at the expense of the French King." His description of the visit to Montreal and Quebec furnishes a source of accurate and interesting information about the New France of the eighteenth century. His comments include observation on religion, government, trade, currency, food, iron-work, etc.

A second visit to Canada was made in the summer of 1750. Travelling by way of the Mohawk River, Lake Oneida and Lake Ontario, Kalm reached Fort Niagara, August 24. The following day he proceeded to the Falls where, deeply impressed, he penned a description, which later he presented to Benjamin Franklin. This description was published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 20, 1750. It is perhaps the first description of Niagara Falls to be written in the English language.

Upon his return to Swedesboro, in October, 1750, he married the widow of the Rev. John Sandin and immediately prepared to return to Sweden. The Kalms reached England, March 23, and Stockholm, June 3. Peter Kalm brought back to Sweden a large collection of insects, conchyla, amphibia, dried and living plants, and many seeds.

Academic honors were bestowed upon him, but none of them satisfied the desire which he had felt from early youth, the desire to become a minister of the Gospel. Again he turned to theology, and was ordained a Lutheran minister in 1768. He became prominent in the church, at one time being mentioned as the next bishop of Abo. His interest in natural science was maintained. The Rev. Peter Kalm occupied the chair of natural sciences in his home university for many years. His experimental gardens were known throughout Europe, and his scientific writings covered many subjects. He died in 1779.

The Lutheran Palatines, who through no fault of their own had failed to reach Quebec in 1711, were represented by their sons and grandsons when that citadel was taken by General Wolfe, 1759.

Concerning the Royal American Regiment (many Palatines), the author of *The Germans in Colonial Times* writes: "In 1758, these German soldiers helped to take Louisburg from the French; in the next year they were with Prideaux in the taking of Niagara; and—far prouder deed—they were with Wolfe at Quebec."¹³ Little wonder, then, that there was rejoicing in some Lutheran congregations when Quebec fell. Richards refers thus to Peter N. Sommers of New York State:

When Quebec was taken and with it fell the French (and Catholic) dominion over this continent, and English (Protestant) supremacy was assured. Sommers celebrated with his congregation on Nov. 22nd, 1759, a public thanksgiving. Many a German home had been laid in ashes and many a brave German soldier had fallen in battle, or been scalped after an ambush. As these Lutheran forefathers had suffered in evil days, they surely had a right as a Christian congregation to rejoice in the victories they helped to win.¹⁴

At the beginning of the War of the Revolution the British Government, being in need of auxiliary troops, naturally turned to Germany who had been her ally in the Seven Years' War. Hesse Cassel and Brunswick were approached first, as the wives of the rulers of the domains were both English princesses. A treaty with Brunswick was signed January 9, 1776, and with the Hessian government on the 15th of the same month. "Hesse Cassel agreed to supply fifteen Regiments, each of five companies, four Grenadier Battalions, two Yager Companies, and some Artillery, in all 12,500 men. Brunswick promised a corps of 4,000 men, four infantry, one Dragoon, one Grenadier, and one light Infantry Battalion. Hesse Hanau promised one Infantry Regiment and some Artillery, in all 900 men; Waldeck, one Regiment 750 strong."¹⁵ An additional number of men was secured from these principalities at a later date, making a grand total of 30,000 German Auxiliary troops.

Twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land were promised to each soldier. Officers received forage money in addition. General von Riedesel is said to have accumulated 15,000 thaler from this source. Besides the money paid to the individual soldiers, a much larger sum

was paid to princes. Altogether, 850,000 pounds annually was remitted to the German princes for their soldiers.

It must be remembered that the German soldiers were accustomed to being sent out of their country for service under foreign nations. In the Hessian forces many of the soldiers were volunteers and concerning the others a Hessian officer wrote afterwards: "No one found fault with our going into the British service for pay."¹⁶

United States historians have condemned the use of these foreign forces, but it should be remembered that the Continental Congress on October 26, 1774, invited the French-Canadians to join with them in opposing the Mother country.¹⁷ In 1776 the Congress sent Benjamin Franklin and two others to Canada as their personal representatives.

Frederick II, Elector of Hesse, had his troops ready for service by the end of February, General Philip V. Heister being in command. "In accordance with the German piety of the time, every soldier had a prayer book in his knapsack, and men and officers were in the habit of daily pious exercises."¹⁸

Like the Hessians, the Brunswick troops sailed in two divisions. The first division, under the command of Colonel Frederick Adolf von Riedesel, left Wolfenbittel, February 22, 1776, arriving in Quebec on the first of June. The Dragoons and Prince Charles' Regiment were ordered to remain at Quebec to strengthen the garrison while the rest went on to Three Rivers. With the Dragoons was the Lutheran chaplain, Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, a biography of whose life follows.

FREDERICK VALENTINE MELSHEIMER

The Reverend Frederick Valentine Melsheimer was born at Regenborn in the Dukedom of Brunswick, Germany, September 25, 1749. At the age of twenty he registered at the University of Helmstaedt, where he obtained a classical education and studied theology. In 1775 he was ordained as a minister of the Lutheran Church. Accepting an appointment as chaplain of the Brunswick Dragoons, the young clergyman accompanied them from Wolfenbittel, landing in Quebec, June 1, 1776.¹⁹ Melsheimer wrote an account of the trip which was published under the title, *The Journal of the Voyage of the Brunswick Auxiliaries from Wolfenbittel to Quebec*. Concerning the

sojourn of the Dragoons at Quebec the above named journal states: "Those of the Lutherans who have settled in this city attend the English church as there is no Lutheran preacher in these parts. At present we have Divine Service in a Chapel built for sailors."²⁰ The chaplain was with the Dragoons in several battles, including the battle of Bennington. As a result of being wounded in the arm, he was taken prisoner. The *Journal of the Hessian Regiment* furnishes the information that in October, 1778, he was in Newport on parole. The following year he became pastor of five Lutheran churches in Dauphin County, Pa. Subsequent pastorates were: Manheim (1784-1786); New Holland (1786-1789); Hanover, Pa. (1790-1814). About the time when he assumed charge of the churches in the New Holland parish, he began the study of American entomology. In 1806 he wrote the book entitled: *A Catalogue of Insects of Pennsylvania*, which was the pioneer work in entomology in this continent. He has been referred to by other entomologists as the "Father of American Entomology." Melsheimer's valuable collection was purchased by Harvard University where it was given a prominent place in the museum. The collection contained 5,302 species and 14,774 specimens. Melsheimer died in 1814.

In Old Acadia

"Enter into his gates with thanksgiving and into his courts with praise." This fourth verse of the One Hundredth Psalm was the text for the sermon on Sunday, May 5, 1745. The service was in the Chapel of the Royal Battery within the Louisburg fortress on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia.¹ In the congregation were many German Lutherans who, just a few years previous, had been engaged in various occupations in Brunswick, Saxony, Württemberg, and the district of the Palatinate.

How came these Germans to this seemingly impregnable fortress, this Gibraltar of the new world, whereon the French government had expended the sum of \$6,000,000? For the answer to this question one must go back to Waldoboro in the State of Maine.

Samuel Waldo, the son of a leading merchant of Boston, was interested in acquiring and settling a tract of land in Maine. He personally made a trip to Germany in 1740 and persuaded forty families from Brunswick and Saxony to return with him.² These immigrants were settled on his own land on the banks of the Medomak River at Waldoboro. The colony was greatly increased during the immediately succeeding years by several hundred families from the Palatinate and Württemberg. "These," writes an historian of the district, "were chiefly Lutheran in religion."³ Proper preparations had not been made for their settlement and the poor people were forced to eke out a wretched existence while living in log huts or sheds. They were fortunate in having with them a German Lutheran school-teacher, John Ulmer, who acted as lay-preacher conducting the religious services in the open air or, when the weather was unfavorable, in barns and sheds.

When the New England expedition against Louisburg was organized in 1745, the faithful and patriotic Ulmer, with rank of captain, was given charge of a large group of German soldiers, members of Waldo's regiment.⁴ It would appear that many of the Germans

took their families with them on this expedition. Great indeed was the courage of the members of this expedition when one remembers the amount of money spent on the fortifications at Louisburg and the popular conviction that the fortress was impregnable.

The New Englanders carried standards on which were embroidered the Latin motto, *Nil Desperandum Christo Duce*.⁵ They were aided by a small British fleet under Commodore Warren. Following an unsuccessful attempt to take the French battery situated on an island in the mouth of the harbor, a landing was made at Gabarus Bay. The men dragged their guns and equipment through the marshes to attack the fort. After a forty-seven-day siege, the French commander Duchambon surrendered. Thus the "Dream City" was taken. Even the British authorities were surprised when the joyful news was received. The Rev. Samuel Moody was the senior chaplain. Parkman says: "As the redoubtable Parson Moody was the general's chaplain and the oldest man in the army, he expected to ask a blessing at the board, and was, in fact, invited to do so, to the great concern of those who knew his habitual prolixity and dreaded its effect on the guests. At the same time, not one of them dared rasp his irritable temper by any suggestion of brevity. To their surprise and relief Moody said: 'Good Lord, we have so much to thank Thee for, that time will be too short and we must leave it for eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion for the sake of our Lord. Amen.'"⁶

And with that he sat down.

Most of the conquering force remained at Louisburg until the end of the war. Ulmer's group was augmented the following year by a group from Maine, who were forced to leave Waldoboro as a result of an attack on that place by the Indians.

The settlement would have been permanent, had it not been for the fact that, according to the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, Louisburg was given back to the French in return for Madras in India, which during the conflict had been captured by the enemy. The New Englanders were greatly angered by the terms of the Treaty and very reluctantly left the fortress. Ulmer and his group returned to Waldoboro to re-establish the town which had been largely destroyed by the Indians.

Thus ended three years of British occupations, during which time

the German Lutheran soldiers together with many of their families lived on what is now Canadian soil under the leadership of one who was their schoolmaster, pastor and military commander.

Dr. J. Nicum, in his *History of the New York Ministerium*, referring to Waldoboro, says: "After Tobias Wagner's departure, a devout and God-fearing man from their midst, John Ulmer, lead the Services in the newly constructed block church. The conduct of outward affairs also went into his hands so that a patriarchial position was his. This continued until 1762, when the congregation secured a pastor in the person of John Martin Schaeffer."

The fortress of Louisburg witnessed another British attack and victory ten years later. This was the celebrated victory in which Brigadier James Wolfe distinguished himself.⁷

Among the regiments which took part in this siege was the Royal American Regiment. In 1775, by order of the British Parliament, this regiment had been raised from among the German and Swiss settlers of Maryland, Pennsylvania and neighboring territory. German and Swiss officers were enrolled; for example, the German Weissenfels and the Swiss Frederick Haldimand, who later became Governor-General of Canada. These soldiers fought side by side with Wolfe's men in the second capture of the great French fortress on the Island of Cape Breton.⁸

ANTHONY HENRY (HÄNERY),⁹ born in the province of Alsace, Germany, 1734, was a scholar proficient in three languages: German, French, and English. He served as a fifer with the Royal American Regiment. After the fall of Louisburg, he went to Halifax, where he became a prominent member and officer of St. George's Lutheran Church. He found employment in the first printing house in Canada, established in Halifax, 1751, by Bartholomew Green. Under John Bushell, Green's successor, he helped in the publication of the *Halifax Gazette*, Canada's first newspaper. When Bushell died, in 1761, Henry took over the business. He published the *Gazette* for a few years and then, in 1769, launched *The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*. For nearly thirty years he published *The Nova Scotia Calendar* and other books of popular interest, usually on religious themes. For his German friends, he printed a few annual editions of *Der Neuschottlandische Calendar*.

Among the articles of spoil taken from Louisburg to Halifax were

two bells. In 1735, King Louis XV had sent out from France three bells to be hung in the King's Bastion at Fort Louisburg. An extract from "The Civil State Register of the Parish of Louisburg" states: "This day the 31st of March, 1735, I have blessed three bells destined by His Majesty for the Fort at Louisburg, Isle Royale, Diocese of Quebec. The largest is given the name of St. Louis; the second of Antoine Marie; the third the name of St. John."¹⁰ The St. Louis, the largest bell, was presented in 1745 by Colonel William Pepperell to a congregation in New Hampshire. The other two bells remained at the fort until 1758, when they were taken as part of the spoil to Halifax. In 1760, a Mr. Bayer having left to St. George's Lutheran Church, Halifax, a bequest with instructions that the money be used to purchase a bell, the congregation decided to buy the St. John bell.¹¹ This bell has a Latin cross on it and, above the cross, an inscription, "Bazin m'a fait" (Bazin made me). It is thirteen inches in diameter, eleven and one-half inches in height and weighs fifty-two pounds. After serving the Lutheran church several years, the bell was removed to St. John's Anglican Church, where it was used until 1895. The following year it was sold for one hundred dollars to the Chateaux de Ramezay, Montreal, Quebec, where it was displayed in the de Vaudreuil Room.

For eighteen years the Antoine Marie bell¹² lay in storage at Halifax. In 1776, it was purchased by the Lutherans in Lunenburg, and on August 10 of that year, from Zion's tower, it called the Lutherans to worship. The bell, still in possession of Zion's Church, is twenty-three inches in diameter and eighteen inches in height. On one side, four and one-quarter inches in height, in bas-relief, is a figure of the Virgin and Child. Embossed on the opposite side is a cross eight and one-quarter inches in height. Citizens of the town state that the bell was taken down in 1782 and sunk in the harbor, to be recovered after the invasion by the Americans. For a century and a half it summoned the congregation to worship. A few years ago it was replaced by another bell, but it is still highly valued and is on display for the benefit of visitors.

HALIFAX

Great indeed was the chagrin and indignation of the soldiers who, in 1745, had captured Louisburg from the French, when they learned

that, according to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was to be returned to France. The ensuing popular protest resulted in action on the part of the British government. It was decided to build a stronghold at Chebucto Harbor (Halifax). Sir Edward Cornwallis, commissioned for the task, set sail in the *Sphinx* on the 14th of May, 1749. Among the vessels accompanying the expedition was the ship *Canning* which had on board Otto William Schwartz and many other German immigrants.¹³ The Germans were principally from Württemberg and Saxony. This expedition reached its destination in June of the same year.

Immediately upon arrival, plans were formulated for the building of a Church of England edifice to be named St. Paul's. Little or no consideration was given to the fact that the Germans were Lutheran in faith. They were expected to contribute and conform to the state church. But having been taught Luther's Catechism, and being familiar with the Augsburg Confession, they refused to relinquish the faith of their fathers. As a result, an Evangelical Lutheran congregation was organized and plans made for the building of a Lutheran church. The Germans were encouraged in this decision by the arrival on July 13, 1750, of more than three hundred of their countrymen, who had been sent out from Rotterdam by the immigration agent, Johann Dick.¹⁴ A bequest to the recently organized Lutheran church, dated October 12, 1752, is ample evidence of the existence of the congregation at that early date.¹⁵

Rene Christian Burger, a German Swiss, was the first Lutheran pastor. He, however, was too much inclined to co-operate with the Anglican clergyman, Mr. Tutty. Dr. Vernon, in his volume, *The Old Church in the New World*, says: "The Church ministered faithfully to these foreign protestants, Mr. Tutty having administered the Holy Sacrament in High Dutch to the Palatines. In his work among the German settlers, he received great assistance from Mr. Burger, a German Swiss minister, who was desirous of Episcopal ordination and had taken great pains to reconcile the Germans to our liturgy and, having translated the Communion Service into German, had taught Mr. Tutty to pronounce it intelligently." Dr. Hamilton Eaton, in his *Church in Nova Scotia*, writes: "After a time, Mr. Burger went to England for Episcopal ordination, which he obtained, afterwards

starting for Halifax with a large number of German Bibles and Prayer Books for the use of his congregation. Nothing more, however, is heard of him and it is probable that the vessel in which he sailed was lost on the voyage."¹⁶

The preface of the earliest Record Book of St. George's Lutheran Church at Halifax contains this historical account written by Peter Bergman, a prominent layman:¹⁷

After having, by the Grace of God, so progressed in the work of building that the common meeting house of the German Lutheran congregation, in the German town of Halifax, is so far finished that we can meet together in it to praise and thank God, it shall be our aim still to improve it, to keep it in order and to keep an account of it from time to time in all faithfulness. It may be of some service to our friends and respective descendants to have a record of this Church, which is truth to say is humble enough.

We have some lumber belonging to us in common, lying in our churchyard. This lumber was exchanged with Mr. George Nagel for a house which was placed where it stands at present, by the voluntary hands in the year 1756.

In the year 1758, on the first and second days of Pentecost, divine service was held in the church, in German, by the Rev. Mr. Slater (chaplain of the troops). His text was Isaiah xlviii, and also Hosea ix, vs. 12. Service was continued twice every Sunday, when building operations would permit, in which one read a sermon and a few hymns were sung. These services will be continued as long as it shall please God.

In the above-named year, in the autumn, Mr. Otto William Schwartz caused the same church to be finished inside; the walls were panelled and doors, windows, chairs and everything belonging to it were supplied, on the condition that he be paid, without interest, when we were able to do so. This year on the fourth Sunday of Advent, the congregation elected four managers with no other object than to keep peace and harmony, and as Mr. William Schwartz is the Elder of the congregation, he has been added to the managing committee, which therefore consists of five persons:

Mr. Otto William Schwartz
Johann Christian Peitsch
Carl Ludwig Hagelsieb

Gottlieb Schermeiller
Peter Bergman

This year the feast of Holy Christmas was begun by making offerings. On New Year's Day, 1759, the Lord's Supper was given to about sixty persons by the Rev. Dr. Breynton and Dr. Wood, ordained minister of the Church of England at Halifax, at which the first-mentioned preached a sermon from the text Ezekiel xxi, vs. 16.

The Elder and Committee have thought it expedient to write their brief notes in the preface of their records so that the descendants will

not despise them, for they have been made with all sincerity, and to the best of our ability. We have also thought it fit to keep a record in this book that our friends and descendants may know of the first foundation of this congregation.

We pray God that those who come after us will interest themselves in this Church, which has been dedicated to God in all faithfulness and the fear of the Lord, and without selfishness.

May the Lord, in whose name the church, as well as this preface, was begun, cause this German congregation to flourish and prosper and bear fruit to the glory of His name forever and ever.

In the name of Jesus. *Amen.*

Written and approved by the Elders and Committee, Halifax, January 6th, 1759.

(Signed) PETER BERGMAN.

This first Lutheran church building in Canada is still standing. It is a small frame structure; in dimensions, about twenty by forty-five feet and having a spire forty-five feet in height. Above the entrance is the inscription, "St. George's Church, 1755."

Shortly after the completion of the church building, the membership was increased by the arrival in Halifax of a group of soldiers who had been with General Wolfe in the capture of Louisburg, 1758. Among these was, as noted above, Anthony Hänery.

Great was the joy of the congregation when, in June of the year 1760, Johann Gottfried Jorpel commenced his duties as their first schoolmaster.¹⁸ Having no Lutheran pastor, the Lutheran schoolmaster was doubly welcome. He began to instruct the children in Luther's Catechism and the doctrines of the Church. October 4, 1761, seventeen young people presented themselves for confirmation. Schoolmaster Jorpel officiated at this first Lutheran confirmation service, the first in Halifax, the first in Canada. Because of the unique position of this Service, we record some of the questions and answers.¹⁹

Question 1: I ask you in the name of the Triune God, will you keep the commandments of God and do them?

Answer: Yes.

Question 17: Beloved Children: do you subscribe to this Evangelical Creed with heart and voice; will you maintain it, order your whole life according to it, and because in these countries so many sects and heresies exist, will you renounce them all, and abide by the pure meaning of the Word of God, and stand by it for life and for death?

Answer: Yes.

Question 18: Do you take the Holy Scriptures to be the revealed Word of God and will you stand by it for life and for death?

Answer: Yes.

Question 21: Will you now with the Triune God, renew in His presence and before this congregation, your baptismal vow and hold fast to it?

Answer: Yes.

Question 23: Do you promise again, to believe, to live and to die according to the will of the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost?

Answer: Yes, with all my heart. *Amen.*

After this last answer the schoolmaster continued in these familiar words:

May our heavenly Father, renew and increase in you, for Jesus Christ's sake, the gift of the Holy Ghost, for the strengthening of your faith, for growth in godliness, for patience in suffering and for the blessed hope of eternal life. *Amen.*

This was followed by a very beautiful and simple prayer:

Now, beloved Saviour, Lord Jesus, all things are delivered to Thee by Thy Father, so also these children, and we are all given up to Thee. Thou hast lent them to me for a short time. What Thou in mercy hast given me, I have imparted to them. They are to be witnesses for me on the great day of account that I have held nothing back contained in Thy Holy Word from them, that might tend to Thy glory and to the welfare of their soul. Now I give them up again to Thee.

Lead Thou them, my Jesus, according to Thy Word and suffer them not to be led astray from Thee through deceitfulness of this wicked world, but keep them in remembrance of their baptismal vow, unto their life's end, which they have renewed with Thee this day.

I pray Thee, beloved Saviour, for Thy righteousness sake, because it has caused Thee such bitter pain to redeem each soul, let not one of them be lost, but place us all at Thy right hand on the day of judgment, yea let the whole congregation, not one excepted, hear Thy kind voice say: "Come unto Me, Ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom that is prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Do this, my Jesus, for the sake of Thy eternal love. *Amen.*

Those confirmed were:

Regina Kuhn	Dorothea Schmidt	Elizabeth Moser
Catherine Baargeld	Elizabeth Haun	Sophia Schmidt
Elizabeth Roecklin	Michael Silver	John August Peitsch
Caspar Haun	Philip Fullman	William Dennenan
Matthew Sauer	Caspar Keller	Andrew Bauer
Christopher Schmidt	Philip Haasz	

Just when a brighter day seemed to be dawning for the young congregation, a cloud of gloom descended. The beloved schoolmaster was stricken with an illness from which he did not recover. Two months after the confirmation service, his body was laid to rest. The following memorial was recorded:

We insert as a memorial in our church book that our much beloved schoolmaster, Johann Gottfried Jorpel, died on the 9th of December, 1761. He attended to his duties with all his heart. To his credit be it said that he was beloved by everybody on account of his integrity, and is generally lamented, but especially by his young pupils, who have shed tears at his departure. May the Lord cause his soul to rejoice through eternity.

Though again without a leader, members were determined to maintain the faith of their fathers. They accepted the occasional services of the Anglican clergy, but insisted that a "present" be accepted for each such service. When on Easter Monday, 1765, Dr. Breynton, of the St. Paul's Church, administered the Lord's Supper, "The officers of the German Lutheran Church resolved that no setting forth of the Gospel should be made in our church contrary to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Confession, and not in the English language."²⁰

In the absence of the minister, a sixty-minute sermon was read from the Prussian book of Homilies. Occasional services by the Anglicans were again tolerated and the history of the congregation appears to have been of comparative smoothness during the next ten years.

An item in the church records under date of March 27, 1779, is of some interest. "It was agreed that a silver communion service should be purchased. On the tenth of October, 1779, the Service was made use of at the Lord's Supper for the first time." The communion ware has been thus described:

The plate was sent from England. It is curious that upon it is an inscription in English, and that the Royal Arms should be found engraven on the front of it. This may have been either because the order was forwarded through the government, or because the silversmiths in England, being ignorant of anything beyond an Established Church in England, thought that the Royal Arms, surmounting so many pieces of communion plate of a previous period, were the only suitable emblem for engraving upon these. It is described as consisting of the "silver can, a silver cup, one large and one small plate"—in all, four pieces. The cost was £57, 2s. 1d.²¹

During and after the close of the war which resulted in the recognition of the Independence of the United States, a large group of United Empire Loyalists sought new homes in the vicinity of Halifax. Some of these settlers had been connected with Lutheran congregations in the United States. One was a Lutheran clergyman.

BERNARD MICHAEL HOUSEAL,²² the son of a Lutheran clergyman, was born at Heilbronn, Württemberg, in the year 1727. His education was received at the University of Tübingen. Following his ordination and marriage in the year 1752, he set sail from Rotterdam in company with his wife's parents, Christopher Bartholomew Mayer and wife. Arriving in Annapolis, Maryland, they were influenced and encouraged to settle at Fredericktown. A group of fellow countrymen had previously settled in that district, and the young clergyman found a fertile field for his labor. The Fredericktown pastorate terminated in 1759, at which time Houseal assumed charge of a congregation in Reading, Pa. Subsequent pastorates were in Easton, Pa., and the Old Dutch church (Trinity), New York City, 1770-1783. He was elected a Governor of New York College and was one of the incorporators of the New York Hospital. An ardent Royalist or Tory, he acted as one of the addressors of Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. At the close of the war, 1783, he came with other refugees to the loyal city of Halifax.

The future appeared bright for St. George's congregation. At last a German Lutheran pastor had come to reside in their midst. But, alas! Houseal proved to be a second Burger. Within a year's time he sailed for England where he applied to the Bishop of London for Deacon's Orders in the Church of England. There he was honored as a hero of the revolution, preached before royalty and was appointed chaplain to a famous regiment. On reaching Halifax, he resigned his chaplaincy to become minister of St. George's congregation, where he served until his death in 1799.

The effect of Houseal's pastorate has, no doubt, been anticipated by the reader. The Lutherans could hardly remain Lutherans under such conditions and leadership. Most of the original German settlers who had helped to found the city had passed away, among them the old stalwart Lutheran leader, Otto William Schwartz, who had died October 5, 1785. The younger generation was no longer speaking fluently the language of their fathers and, not having been firmly

indoctrinated in the Lutheran faith, they became an easy prey to the proselyting influences.

Houseal died in 1799, but he was responsible for dealing a death-blow to the Lutheran congregation. However, the torch of Lutheranism flared up once or twice before it was finally extinguished. A special congregational meeting held March 18, 1799, voted in favor of another German minister. Trouble ensued, and an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. George Wright, was proposed. The meeting divided and a satisfactory decision was not attained. Subsequently the congregation decided in favor of Wright, but made several written reservations, among which were the following:

All Elders and Church Wardens shall be German or descended from Germans, as long as any can be found among the congregation, worthy of office.

Only Germans and their male descendants shall have the privilege of attending all meetings and have a right to vote.

As long as the Rev. Mr. Wright continues to officiate the prayers and sermons shall be in English.²³

A special inducement to conform was then offered to the Lutherans who were yet resisting. We quote from an Anglican booklet:

The quarterly meeting of January 1800, the first over which the Rev. George Wright presided, was informed that His Majesty, the King, had been pleased to grant two hundred pounds sterling for building a new church. His Excellency was also pleased to recommend the following to act as commissioners to superintend the building:

The three Elders; namely, Peter Smith, Adolph Veith and Nicholas Smith, also Mr. Fleiger, Mr. Henry and Mr. Christian Brehm.

On April 10, 1800, the cornerstone of the present round church (second St. George's) was laid.²⁴

In July of the following year, the new St. George's Church was opened for services. The edifice was built on a commanding site at the corner of Brunswick and Cornwallis Street. The dedication service was in English, but the hymns then, and for some years after, were in German. "The Commissioners who had charge of the building and the three Elders, received the Governor and other officials in their cocked hats and uniforms and conducted them to their seats."²⁵ Mr. Wright, pastor of the church, and Mr. Stanser, the rector of St. Paul's, had charge of the service. The total cost of the new church was announced as being £2,356, with an indebtedness of £919.

Two days before the church was opened, a meeting of the parishioners had been held for the purpose of selling the pews to the highest bidders.²⁶ Pew No. 26 was purchased by Abraham Cunard, father of Samuel Cunard, the founder of the great Cunard Steamship Lines. Further down the list is the name of Andrew Bauer, perhaps the same Andrew Bauer whose name appeared in the list of those confirmed by Schoolmaster Jorpel forty years before. Christian Brehm and Melchior Artz also find a place among the pew purchasers. No doubt these latter were members of the same family as Philip Brehm and Peter Artz, who thirty-five years previous had protested against the non-Lutheran preaching of Dr. Breynon. Further comparison between the names of the pew holders of the new St. George's and the names of the former members of the Old Dutch Church might be made, but at this date there is no advantage in going further into this matter.

Thus, St. George's Lutheran congregation passed out of existence. Dr. Cossman later held a few Lutheran services in the "Old Dutch Church," but he had to ask permission from the Anglicans. The old church is standing today. Occasionally Anglican services are held within its walls. Hundreds of tourists visit it each year. In the cemetery close by are the tombstones marking the graves of the pioneer Lutherans, but the church is Lutheran no longer.²⁷

Let it be recalled that the Church of England, in the early days of British rule in Canada, was practically a State Church. In the *History of King's County, of Nova Scotia*, the author states:

In the first Assembly of the province in 1758, it had been enacted that the worship of the Church of England should be considered the fixed form of Worship in Nova Scotia, but that all dissenters from the Church, save "Papists," should have free liberty of conscience and might build meeting houses for public worship and choose and elect ministers for carrying on Divine Service and administering the Sacraments according to their several opinions.²⁸

Though the privilege of erecting churches and calling pastors was recognized as the right of other Protestant churches, as early as 1758, nevertheless, the other Protestant churches for many years were compelled to support the established church. In all fairness to present-day Anglicans, let it be stated that they recognize and publicly declare

the unfairness of that act. The following paragraph, by a recent rector of St. Paul's, is to the point:

The fact that the Church of England was the Established Church in the province, accounts for the minutes that appear about this time (1799). "The Vestry Clerk is directed to procure a list of the respective congregations of the town to make an assessment for the current year." Everyone, no matter what his creed might be, was assessed a certain sum, proportionate to his supposed circumstances, for the support of the Parish Church. A condition that we today look upon as most unjust, but which continued for many years, Dr. Hill, the fifth rector, noting that he had shared in the abolition of an act that was as unfair to others as it was injurious to ourselves!²⁹

Had the early Lutherans in Halifax been privileged to deal with the fifth rector of St. Paul's, Dr. Hill, or with Dr. T. W. Savary, whose fair-mindedness is evidenced above, their experiences would likely have been far different.

Sir James Stephen,³⁰ Undersecretary in the British Colonial Office, was devoted to the Established Church, but he advised that a plea for Crown lands, for the support of Anglican Clergy made by the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, be rejected. He recognized that four-fifths of the people of Canada belonged to other denominations and that public opinion in Canada was opposed to the superiority of one church.

LUNENBURG

It has already been recorded in this chapter that, on July 13, 1750, a number of Germans arrived in Halifax, having set sail from Rotterdam. During the following three years, as a result of the efforts of government agent, Johann Dick, many more came out on the ships *Pearl*, *Gale*, *Sally*, *Betty*, *Murdock* and *Swan*.³¹

The British government decided to open up another settlement and commissioned Colonel Lawrence "to settle a township by the name of Lunenburg." The immigrants, recently arrived at Halifax, were placed in fifteen transports and conveyed to the new settlement. They arrived at their destination June 7, 1753. The new county was named Lunenburg, deriving its name from the Duchy of Lunenburg, in Germany, from whence many of these German settlers had come.

Hardly had these two hundred and fifty³² German families established themselves, when they began to plan for permanent religious services. A petition requesting the service of a Lutheran pastor was

presented to the Governor. A promise of assistance was given but not fulfilled. An appeal was sent in 1754, to the Chaplains of the High German Court Chapel in London, England, but again with no success. The historian Des Brisay says: "A petition from German settlers at Lunenburg for a minister, German or English, and for a schoolmaster, was received in the House of Assembly, Dec. 27, 1759."³³

Sensing that they would receive little support from those in positions of authority, the congregation decided to proceed without governmental aid. Success crowned their efforts to the extent that a German schoolteacher was secured in 1760. The school started with a large enrolment of scholars, but soon the English missionary brought the schoolteacher under his direction by arranging that he should be paid an additional amount of five pounds per annum. The German language was abolished as a medium of instruction and, as the schoolteacher himself possessed little knowledge of the English tongue, the result was that the school was closed.³⁴

In 1765, efforts were made to build a church, but great obstacles being placed in the way by those who were opposed to the Lutheran faith, the building operations were discontinued.

Two years later, the Rev. Paul Bryselius³⁵ was sent to them. Bryselius was a native of Sweden, who on coming to America associated himself with the Moravians. His next connection was with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, under which body he served the New Germantown Parish in New Jersey, 1760-1766. In 1766, when the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was seeking a man for Nova Scotia, capable of preaching both English and German, Bryselius was recommended to them by clergy of the Episcopal Church. He was ordained by the Church of England in 1767, and came to Nova Scotia to take charge of the German people in Lunenburg. The Lutheran congregation, believing him to be a pastor of their own faith, rallied around him, but they were soon disillusioned.

Andreas Jung, for many years treasurer of the Lutheran congregation at Lunenburg, writes:

Immediately after Bryselius had thrown off the mask under which he had come among us—for he had only been masquerading as a Lutheran minister—we began once more to hold our meetings in private houses, as we had been doing before. We met together in the

house of Mr. Melchior Broome, in the North West range, where we engaged in devotional exercises, which consisted in reading a sermon, singing and prayer.³⁶

As a result of a consultation, it was agreed to make a second attempt to build a church. This was more successful than the effort of five years previous. On May 22, 1770, the frame was raised and, in due course, the edifice completed.

With renewed effort and determined will, the congregation resolved to secure a Lutheran pastor. A lengthy correspondence ensued with the patriarch Muhlenberg. In fact, Muhlenberg actually received a call, through the Governor of Nova Scotia, to care for the Germans of that province.³⁷ Muhlenberg's reaction can best be stated in his own words:

All natural feelings did not disencline me to spend my last hours in a locality where I would have opportunity to serve the church and her schools, to bring up my seven children in a respectable way and would be released from this never-ceasing being on horseback, which injures the vigor of body and soul; but, not being able to reach a hasty resolution in such important matters, I petition for time to consider and pray over this proposition, to ponder well all the circumstances, so as to recognize the gracious will of God. It was subsequently made clear to me that it was not according to the will of God.³⁸

While it is true that some of the opponents of the Lutheran faith had placed obstacles in the way of the congregation, it is also true that other non-Lutherans were eager to offer assistance. A Mr. Kaulbach, of the German Reformed group in Lunenburg, proved to be a friend indeed. Kaulbach, while visiting in Philadelphia, wrote to his friends that little was being done in Philadelphia toward the securing of a pastor for Lunenburg. A conference was arranged to be held in New York at which Mr. Kaulbach, Pastor Johann S. Gerock and the Rev. Frederick Schultz were present. Schultz agreed to accompany Kaulbach to Lunenburg, where he was to preach a trial sermon with a view to being called as the pastor.

FREDERICK SCHULTZ was born at Königsberg, Prussia, where he received his elementary and classical education. At Halle, he studied theology, and was employed in the Orphans' Home. Having received a call to America, he was ordained at Wernigerode, July 11, 1751, and sailed by way of Hamburg and London. Arriving in America, he

served as assistant to H. M. Muhlenberg at New Hanover, Pa. In 1753, he took charge of the Goshenhoppen and Indianfield congregations where his pastorate was of short duration. The next fifteen years of his life are obscure, probably in Stone Arabia and Livingston Manor. On the 27th of October, 1772, he arrived in Lunenburg in company with Mr. Kaulbach. November 8th, of the same year, Zion's Lutheran Church was dedicated. Three weeks later, November 29th, thirty-five catechumens were confirmed and 115 members partook of Holy Communion. At that time there were 125 male members in the congregation, which number increased to 185 by September 1, 1775. Under the leadership of Schultz, a parsonage was built in 1773, he, himself, working in the woods with men, chopping down the trees and preparing the timbers. Great progress was made by the congregation until 1776, when a disagreement arose over an increase in salary. The following year Schultz purchased one thousand acres of land at Port Medway, perhaps with the intention of retiring from the active ministry. However, he continued to serve the congregation until 1782, with the exception of a six-months period, during which time the congregation met in the church and one of the members read a sermon. Two years after relinquishing charge of the Lunenburg congregation, Schultz organized a congregation in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, but remained there only five months.

JOHANN GOTTLÖB SCHMEISSER,³⁹ the immediate successor of Schultz, was born in Weissenfelds, Germany, March 22, 1751. He was the son of J. Schmeisser and his wife, Eva Bauer. Educated in the Lyceum Sorau, he proceeded through the University course and studied theology at Halle. While at Halle, an intimate friendship developed with Director Freylinghausen of the Orphans' Home. When an appeal for a pastor to serve at Lunenburg reached Halle, through the Rev. Friederich Wilhelm Pasche of London, England, Schmeisser made known his willingness to accept the call. Arriving in London in January, 1782, he remained in that city several weeks as the guest of Pastor Pasche. Disembarking at Halifax the last week in April, Schmeisser proceeded to Lunenburg, where he conducted his first service on Rogate Sunday. Two months after his arrival the town was invaded by a troop of Americans under Captain Babcock. Colonel Creighton, with only five men, endeavored to hold the

blockhouse. The colonel was taken prisoner and the town plundered. Schmeisser, conspicuous in his foreign garb, mingled with the marauders in an effort to pacify them. Resenting his interference, the attackers seized and bound him and left him lying on the road, to be released later by some of his courageous friends. Under the leadership of Schmeisser, the congregation prospered. He insisted on the early baptism of children and administered the Lord's Supper at frequent intervals, sometimes twenty celebrations in one year. After serving the congregation for eight years his health began to fail, but despite this handicap, he continued in charge for another sixteen years. Death called him into eternal life December 21, 1806. Twenty-four years and eight months he labored in Lunenburg. The church record, covering the period of his pastorate, reveals the following official acts: Baptisms, 1,729; Confirmations, 700; Marriages, 201; Burials, 380.

The subsequent vacancy was of short duration, being less than a year and a half. Application for a pastor was made to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which body sent them the Rev. Ferdinand Conrad Temme.

FERDINAND CONRAD TEMME,⁴⁰ a native of Lunenburg, in the Dukedom of Brunswick, Germany, was born March 12, 1763. He first saw the light of day in a Lutheran parsonage, his father being the Rev. Daniel Temme. Following a course in theology at Helmstaedt and Gottingen, he was ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1787. The degree Ph.D. was conferred on him, 1790, by the University of Gottingen, on the basis of his thesis "*Programme de Legibus divinis haud quaquam arbitrariis.*" For seventeen years he was head of an academy founded by himself for the education of noblemen's sons. This institution was abandoned in the year 1806, when the troops of Napoleon entered that district. Leaving Germany, with the intention of travelling in Switzerland and the United States, Temme arrived in Philadelphia, November, 1807, and was compelled to remain much longer than he had expected, due to the fact that an embargo was placed on American vessels and the harbors of Germany closed. Accepting the call to the Lunenburg congregation, he arrived in Nova Scotia on April 28, 1808. The following year, in December, he was united in marriage to Maria Barbara Schmeisser, a daughter of his predecessor. A blessed ministry followed, though at times great problems had to be

faced. Four members of the congregation were in 1812 publicly excommunicated. Concerning the leader of this group, may it be said that he began a mission for another denomination in the town of Lunenburg, but finally was proven guilty of adultery, and fled to the United States. Recognizing the need for Lutheran textbooks, Temme prepared and had published two books, both in the German language. The first was published in Philadelphia, 1816, by G. and D. Billmeyer. It had the rather lengthy title: *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchen-Agende, oder Formulare und Gebete, Zur Taufe, Trauung, Confirmation, Administration des Heiligen Abendmals; nebst den Allgemeinen Kirchen-Gebeten an Sonn- und Bustagen, in der Lutherischen Kirche, zu Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia*. The second work was Luther's Small Catechism, published with an explanation and Scripture passages. This manual was used as a textbook in the parochial school. For a quarter of a century the Lunenburg congregation enjoyed the leadership and instruction of this scholarly and consecrated clergyman. Ferdinand Conrad Temme, having lived just one year short of the three score years and ten, died January 9, 1832. His body lies buried in the upper cemetery beside the body of his predecessor, Johann Gottlob Schmeisser.

This section of the early history of Zion's Church would not be complete if we failed to mention one of the prominent laymen who rendered a valuable service. We append a short biography of this faithful member.

JOHN PHILIP AULENBACH⁴¹ was born, 1755, at Gottingen, Germany. At twenty-one years of age, he accompanied the Hessian troops to New York, serving as trumpet major in the campaigns in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina. At the close of the conflict, he went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where he acted as a leader in a small Lutheran congregation. Moving to Lunenburg in 1785, he was appointed schoolmaster and leader of the singing in Zion's congregation. When Pastor Schmeisser's health began to fail in 1789, Aulenbach became, though not ordained, the assistant pastor. He was called on to conduct many Sunday services and instruct the catechumens. Fifty persons were buried by Aulenbach, previous to the death of Schmeisser, and seventeen during the vacancy. During Temme's pastorate, he officiated at seventy-five funerals. Besides these acts, he baptized nine sick children. He

writes: "My hearing I lost through ringing the bell, having to stand too near it." His request was that the bell should not toll at his funeral. The faithful schoolmaster and lay preacher, having served the congregation for many years, died of a malignant cancer. The historic Antoine Marie bell did not toll at his funeral.

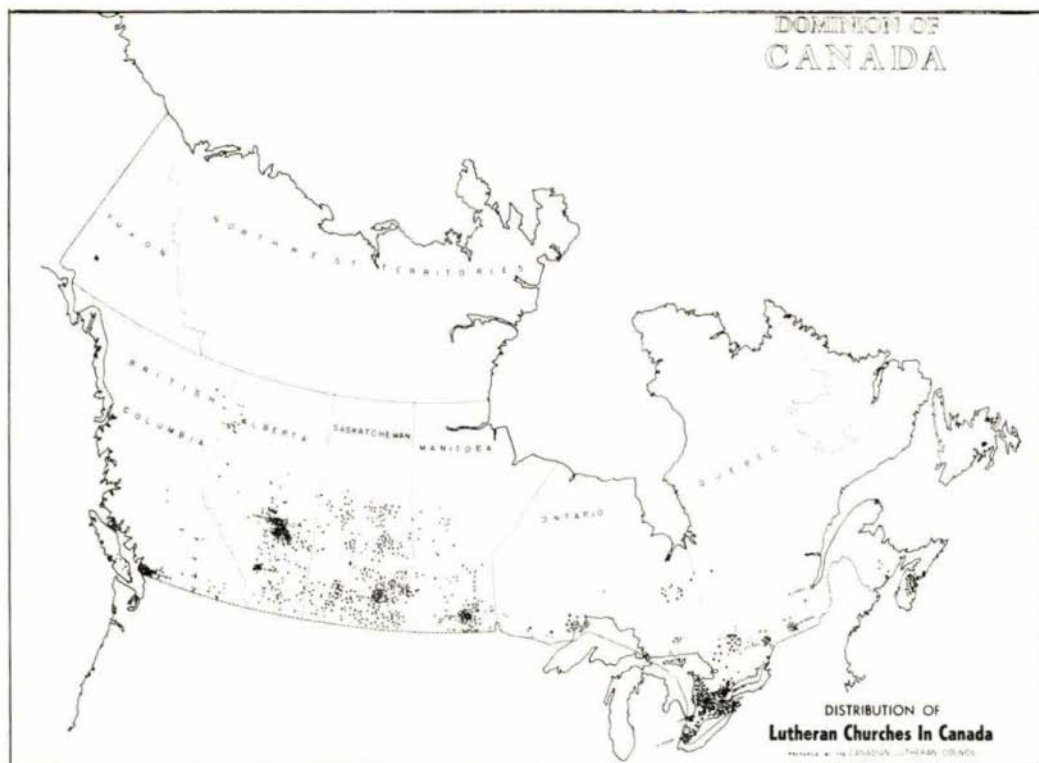
We have observed that the eastern shore of Nova Scotia was gradually settled by English and Continental Protestants. In marked contrast, the French and Roman Catholic settlers occupied the western side and the lands along the Bay of Fundy. The French authorities at Quebec urged these Acadian French to remain loyal to France, suggesting that the British control of Nova Scotia was but temporary. "They refused to take even a qualified oath of allegiance, and their priests had encouraged them in their resistance. At least one of these, the Abbé Le Loutre, had given bounties to the Indians for every British scalp brought in, scalps torn from the heads of the peaceful settlers of Halifax."⁴²

In June, 1755, a New England force under John Winslow and Colonel Monkton captured the French fort at Beauséjour. This was followed by the expulsion of the Acadians, a sad event in Canadian history. The student of literature, reading the account of the expulsion, as told by Longfellow in his *Evangeline*, feels impelled to sympathize with these exiles. It is true that harshness, deception and cruelty accompanied the seizure of the six thousand Acadians, and their deportation to the British colonies south of Massachusetts. But let it be remembered that, even after the capture of Beauséjour, representatives of these people appeared before Governor Lawrence, July, 1755, and again refused to take the oath of allegiance. Unfortunately, the Acadian peasants were forced to pay a terrible price for following the advice of their political and religious leaders.

Following the expulsion of the Acadians, some of the settlers of Halifax and Lunenburg made a journey to the forsaken farms to secure some of the cattle which otherwise would have perished. Andreas Jung, the treasurer of Zion's Lutheran Church, Lunenburg, was one of a party of fifty men who left Lunenburg, July 30, 1756, to make the trip to the Basin of Minas. On the third day of September, the party returned with sixty head of cattle, which were divided among the people. A story is told, in some of the public school readers of Nova Scotia, of a



MUNCKS' WINTER HARBOR



Prepared by the Canadian Lutheran Council

DISTRIBUTION OF LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN CANADA

robust German maiden who walked from the German settlement to Grand Pré to secure one of the blooded cows. Under a loose brick in a deserted fireplace, she found enough gold to enable her to bring from Germany her crippled lover.

Halifax and Lunenburg were now the only British settlements of any size in Nova Scotia. Steps were immediately taken to attract new settlers. When the first House of Assembly met in 1758, Governor Lawrence issued, October 12, the first of his proclamations directing attention to the advantages of Nova Scotia as an attractive place for settlers. Several land agents and companies worked with the government in this effort to secure immigrants. Our interest is particularly in the results obtained by one Alexander McNutt,⁴³ who acted as the middle-man between the German immigrants from Pennsylvania and the Nova Scotia government. The efforts of a German company, which made application April, 1765, for 100,000 acres of land, must also be taken into consideration as being the cause for the subsequent German immigration.⁴⁴

In 1765, Moncton Township was granted to Germans who settled on the present site of Moncton city.⁴⁵ Within a year, many of these settlers had branched out to neighboring territory, some settling in Hillsborough, then known as the Dutch Village. In Coverdale, opposite Moncton, the Germans were found as early as 1765-1766. Many of the children of those who settled in Moncton established their homes in Lutz Mountain, quite a settlement of Germans being in that place prior to 1811. The reader will recognize that several of the places mentioned above are located in Albert County, New Brunswick, but the information is included in this section due to the fact that at the time of this German immigration, New Brunswick had not yet been created into a separate province, but was a part of Nova Scotia.

At the same time that Moncton and district was being settled, a shipload of twenty-five German families settled in Hopewell Township. Some of these moved out to Germantown, near the mouth of German Creek.⁴⁶

The census returns of 1767 show ten German families in Granville Township, Annapolis County, while the returns of three years later indicated a marked increase in their number. Some of these had come from the New England States, while others, such as Adam Schafner,

had moved in from Lunenburg. One of Schafner's descendants represented the county in the Legislative Assembly. About the year 1769, some six hundred Palatines and Swabians under Officer Strumpel took up land in this county.⁴⁷

Disbanded German soldiers came to Nova Scotia after the war of the American Revolution. They settled near Clementsport,⁴⁸ Nova Scotia. Homes were established in 1783, along the Waldeck Line, which runs from Clementsport to the mouth of Bear River, and along the parallel Hessian Line, four miles distant. Religious services were begun, and in 1788 these Lutherans completed the building of their church. Being without a Lutheran pastor, they called on Bishop Inglis of the Church of England to consecrate their House of Worship. Efforts to secure a Lutheran minister met with no success. Occasionally at first, and then more frequently, they were served by visiting Anglican clergymen. The hymns were in German, and the accompanying musical instrument was an old bass-viol. Years passed. The young people acquired the English language. More members of the Church of England attended the services, especially so on the occasion when they were conducted by the Anglican clergyman. Finally the church was transferred to the English denomination on condition that a hymn in the German language be sung every Sunday morning at the beginning of the service. From the heart and with great volume, the pioneers sang the hymns of Luther. They were strange hymns to those members who knew only the English language. No doubt, there were smiles on the faces of some, but others respected and admired the old folks who felt that they could best express themselves in their mother-tongue. Finally there remained only two aged people who were able to sing the hymns in the language of their fatherland. The old custom, which had prevailed for so many years, ceased. The strange hymns were heard no more.

The old Loyalists' Church of St. Edward's, built by the Germans, is still standing. It is situated on a conspicuous site on the side of South Mountain. About it is the village of Clementsport. Below it lies the Annapolis Basin. For 150 years this church has been a familiar landmark to sailors approaching through Digby Gap. The church is well built, of Norman architecture. Massive timbers and wide boards meet the visitor as he enters. It is like the "Old Trappe"

Church in Pennsylvania. Square shaped pews on which doors are fastened with hand-made hinges tell a story of pioneer days. Plaster, made by burning clam shells, and so hard that it is difficult to pierce it with a sharp instrument, covers the walls. The church is one of the historic sites of Nova Scotia, referred to in several of the tourist guide books of that province.

Among the Germans who settled in Moncton, Hillsborough, Coverdale, Lutz Mountain, Hopewell, Germantown, Annapolis and Clementsport, we have reason to believe that there were many people of the Lutheran faith. Like their brethren in Halifax and Lunenburg, they were unable to obtain the services of a Lutheran clergyman. As a result, Lutheran churches were not established in their midst. Many, indeed, were the opportunities lost in the early days due to a scarcity of Lutheran ministers. Of the many German Lutheran settlements in the early history of Nova Scotia, only the Lunenburg parish survived. Little wonder that the congregations of the Nova Scotia Synod are today almost entirely confined to Lunenburg County.

Nova Scotia: Conference and Synod

In the chapter entitled, "In Old Acadia," the early history of the Lutherans in Nova Scotia was presented. There, reference was made to the capture of Louisburg, the settlement at Halifax and Lunenburg, and the labors of the first three pastors at Lunenburg: Schultz, Schmeisser, and Temme. In this chapter the particular reference will be to the Nova Scotia Conference and the Nova Scotia Synod.

CHARLES ERNST COSSMAN arrived at Lunenburg, from Halle, January 17, 1835. He was born March 1, 1806, in Sachsenberg, Germany, the son of John Ernst Cossman and his wife, Marie Elizabeth Richter. When he was five years old his mother died and he was cared for by his stepmother, Susannah Catherine Völger, whom he describes as a very kind woman. In 1818 he entered the Latin School in Frankenhäusen and from thence to the college Grlitz in Silesia, and finally, in 1829, to the university at Halle, where he studied under Gesenius and Tholuck. He was ordained September 16, 1834. At that time a call came to Halle from the Lutherans in Nova Scotia. The salary offered was \$400 per annum. None of the other graduates was willing to accept it. Cossman, in his autobiography, writes: "Although my books, etc., were at that time already packed in chests, and I was about to go as assistant teacher to a flourishing institute in Coblenz, the finest part of the Rhine, I decided to give up the fine prospect in order to serve my Lutheran brethren in Nova Scotia."

When the Rev. Charles Ernst Cossman arrived in Lunenburg there was one Lutheran church edifice to serve three thousand Lutherans then residing in Lunenburg County. From a radius of twenty miles church members came to the services on foot, or in boats. There was also a Union church at Mahone Bay built in 1833, of which Peter Strum was a trustee representing the Lutherans.¹

Peter Zinck wrote:² "I was born at Rose Bay, July 10, 1787, and belonged to the Lutheran Church. Mr. Schmeisser was the first minister who preached to me. People went from Bridgewater, Mahone Bay, Kingsburg, Dublin Shore, and the islands, to church in Lunenburg.

People walked to service and home again. There was no preaching around the country except at a funeral. In those days we had German schools. The schoolmaster was one Draver from Germany. He kept school in my grandfather Conrad's house, and had forty scholars."

The Arenbergs lived on Paradise Island a short distance below Bridgewater. Charlotte Arenberg stated: "In those days we all walked to Lunenburg, over eight miles to church, and came back in the evening. I was confirmed in the Lutheran church by Mr. Temme. John Philip Aulenbach used to come out from town and bury people who died in the country."³

In his autobiography, Pastor Cossman wrote as follows:

My bond stated that I had to preach every Sunday morning in our Lunenburg church, and to instruct the young people for confirmation during the summer months, Sunday afternoons; and the church rule added, that if any man wanted me in the country he must fetch and return me in a convenient wagon. But I soon found out that that could never build up our Lutheran Zion, and I soon commenced to preach in the country; the far-living members of our church, not able to keep horse and wagon, should not be without the Bread of Life. . . . I preached regularly twice every Sunday and on the week days at such places as I could not reach Sundays: at Maitland, Northfield, Sebastopol, Branch, New Germany, Cornwall, Tancock, Blandford, Conquerall, Feltzen-South, Rose Bay, LeHave, etc. At the most populated places I preached commonly once a month, besides funeral sermons, visiting the sick, and administering the Lord's Supper to many on their sick and dying beds. I travelled annually about four thousand miles for many years, and the most part in the saddle. But I was sometimes so fatigued that my children stood plainly before my eyes but I could not recollect their names.⁴

For twenty-five years Cossman's work was richly blessed. He says of this period: "From 1835 until 1860, we Lutherans lived as a large family in undisturbed harmony and peace, and the rich blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ dwelt in the whole congregation."

In 1841 a new church was erected in Lunenburg to replace the first church built some seventy years earlier. At Rose Bay, then called "The Crossroads," a church was built in 1843, but the congregation remained a part of the Lunenburg parish until 1890. For many years Rose Bay had elected representatives to the church council of Zion, Lunenburg. In Bridgewater, Lutheran services were held by Cossman in the Presbyterian church. In 1859 St. Paul's congregation was

organized. Midville Branch and several other preaching points were developing rapidly during the fifties, and within a few years were linked with Bridgewater in a separate parish under the Rev. W. W. Bowers.

In a providential manner the work in Nova Scotia was brought to the attention of the Pittsburgh Synod. The Rev. W. A. Passavant of Pittsburgh was on his way to the first General Council of the Evangelical Alliance. He sailed from Boston on July 16, 1846. His ship struck several rocks off the coast of Newfoundland and put into port at Halifax, Nova Scotia, for repairs. Dr. Passavant spent two days in this city. He says:⁵

I heard from an old gentleman that years ago a Lutheran Church had existed in this place. The next effort was to discover the old building where the German colonists formerly worshipped. This was not a difficult matter, as even the children in the street knew where the "Dutch Church" was, and pointed it out in answer to my inquiries. It stands in one end of the town, on the corner of a large burying-ground, which is surrounded by a substantial stone wall. The church itself is a small one-story edifice of frame, with an old-fashioned cupola or belfry surmounted by a large weathercock of tin. . . . Dr. Hoffman, a German whose acquaintance I made in Halifax, gave me some valuable information concerning a large colony of German settlers at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, some sixty or eighty miles from this place. It is said by persons in Halifax that a German Lutheran minister still resides in Lunenburg.

On his return from Europe, Passavant entered into correspondence with Pastor Carl Ernst Cossman, and was instrumental in sending to him an assistant in the person of the Rev. W. W. Bowers. Pastor Bowers was born in Montgomery County, Pa., April 16, 1827. He studied at Gettysburg and received theological instruction under Dr. Anspach at Hagerstown, Maryland. In the autumn of 1855 he accepted the call to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. During his ministry there he was united in marriage to Louisa, eldest daughter of Pastor Cossman. Cossman, in his autobiography, writes:

I was glad when the Rev. W. W. Bowers arrived. I told him that he should assist me and I would assist him, and so we lived and worked together in the closest harmony as Christian brethren always should do. Rev. Bowers was loved by everyone, and our Lutheran Zion flourished after his arrival in 1855. But in 1859 he accepted a call from the Bridgewater parish, which separated from us.⁶

There he served until 1872.

Preaching points were being established throughout the county. There was need for more Lutheran pastors, but unfortunately the men who came were neither Lutheran in heart nor in doctrine. The result was that the next ten years were years of strife.

In 1860, a man who styled himself as the Rev. J. I. Stine,⁷ came to Lunenburg as the new English Lutheran minister. He endeavored to introduce Methodistical prayer meetings and other practices which did not find favor with the Lutherans of Lunenburg, Mahone Bay, and Rose Bay. Following a vote of the congregation, he was discharged. Some years later he was arrested in the United States on the charges that he was a thief and a felon and was given a prison term.

Other impostors followed Stine, some proving to be worse than he. Father Cossman, no longer a young man, was harassed on every side. Church doors were closed to him. He was drawn into lawsuits and frequently felt the impulse to resign. He expressed his feelings thus:

The whole congregation was more a battlefield than a Christian church. To end this quarrel and fighting, could I resign with good conscience? Could I leave the over 300 families of my congregation, whom I loved so dearly, without a shepherd? Had I not to answer for such a step before God on the Judgment Day? The wolf attacked the flock. I, as a Lutheran minister, consider it my duty to protect my people, my friends, my children in Christ.⁸

Cossman remained at his post of duty, and the others were forced to leave.

While this conflict was at its height in Lunenburg, the situation was not much better in the Bridgewater parish. A clergyman by the name of D. F. Hutchinson was challenging Pastor Bowers. In charity we pass by the years of conflict in Bridgewater. It should be stated, however, that it was Hutchinson who encouraged Father Cossman's adversaries in Lunenburg. Referring to one of the impostors who caused him much trouble in Lunenburg, the patriarch Cossman states: "Misled by Rev. Hutchinson of Bridgewater, he tried to expel me from my dear church, which was locked before me for a couple of years. Hutchinson and the other man's aim was to bring the whole Lutheran congregation under the Episcopal bishop, and a bridge was introduced by them in the form of a prayer book, most part of it extracted from the *Episcopal Common Prayer Book*.⁹ A copy of

this book is in the archives of the Nova Scotia Synod and is entitled: *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of The Church according to the Use of The Lutheran Church In Nova Scotia.*" The book was published in Halifax in 1864.

For some reason the Pittsburgh Synod, which had shown an initial interest, did not supply the needed men. The patriarch Cossman made one gesture toward the Missouri Synod. In 1868 the Rev. O. Hanser of the Missouri Synod made a missionary journey to Nova Scotia. The same year Cossman journeyed to Richmond, Va., to attend a session of the Eastern District of the Missouri Synod.¹⁰ Nothing further resulted from this contact. Cossman courageously held his ground for another few years until the decade of conflict passed and the Pittsburgh Synod came to his aid.

The Rev. H. W. Roth, a leader in the Pittsburgh Synod, and then professor at Thiel College, made a missionary trip to Nova Scotia which eventuated in the sending of several pastors to that province. These men recaptured one church after another from the adversaries and at an early date, with Father Cossman, founded the Nova Scotia Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod.

The Rev. David Luther Roth,¹¹ brother of Dr. H. W. Roth, was one of these pastors. He was born in Prospect, Pa., October 25, 1847, attended Thiel and Muhlenburg colleges and graduated from the Philadelphia Seminary. He assisted Cossman at Lunenburg and Bridgewater, 1875, and became the pastor at Lunenburg, 1876, when Cossman resigned. Dr. Roth remained until 1884. For a few years, 1923-1925, he returned to Lunenburg for the second time. He is the author of *Acadia and the Acadians*.

The Rev. John Henry Hunton,¹² was born in Fauquier County, Va., October 11, 1834, and ordained by the Tennessee Synod. He served the Riverside congregation in Ontario for eleven years, 1861-1872, and then to Nova Scotia. He was installed as pastor of St. Paul's, Bridgewater, July 27, 1874. Hunton came at a critical time but was soon able to bring order out of chaos. He is often called the "Peacemaker" and he proved worthy of his name. One of his first acts was the adoption of a new constitution and the settling of lawsuits. The parish began to

progress and at one time he had twelve to fifteen preaching points in the parish. The third pastor who came to Nova Scotia at this time was the Rev. John Scheffer, who took charge of Mahone Bay parish.

On Tuesday, October 17, 1876, the Lutheran pastors in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, with a delegate from each parish, met in Zion Church, Lunenburg, and organized, with Rev. J. H. Hunton as temporary chairman, the Nova Scotia Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod.¹³ There were present at this meeting the four pastors and the following lay delegates: Louis Zinck of Rose Bay parish, and John Lohnes representing Lunenburg. J. H. Hunton was elected president, D. Luther Roth, secretary, and C. E. Cossman, treasurer.

It was announced at this meeting that Dr. Cossman had resigned his pastorate and that the Pittsburgh Synod had voted \$200 per annum toward his support. The Conference resolved to give him in addition a pension of \$200 per annum.

In 1876 there were three parishes.¹⁴ The Lunenburg parish included Upper La Have, Rose Bay, and Middle La Have. With Bridgewater were associated: Conquerall Bank, Branch (possibly Midville Branch), Northfield, Waterloo, Conquerall Mills, and Ohio (Hempford). Mahone Bay included in its preaching points: Cornwall, Neubern, and Indian Point. Many of these preaching points were not organized into congregations until a later date.

Within one year other preaching points were added, such as Newcombville, Emeneans, Camperdown, New Germany. St. Luke's Rhodes Corner, midway between Lunenburg and Bridgewater, was organized in 1877. In March, 1877, Rev. Hunton reported that in the Bridgewater parish he had fifteen preaching places from eight to twenty miles distant from the parsonage.

The aged Pastor Cossman continued to act as a missionary. At intervals he held Lutheran services in the Old Dutch Church, Halifax, and ministered to a group of Icelandic Lutherans in another part of the province. Reporting on his trip to the Icelandic settlement, he wrote:

Friday, the 14th of September, 1877, I left Halifax. I went forty miles on the railway as far as Shubenacadie, fifteen miles further on the mail-coach, and the last twelve miles a Mr. Robert Read took me with horses. I was received by the teacher, Mr. Alex Wilson. The land of this colony lies, I think, about ten miles from Sheik Harbor. The

people are very industrious, sober and frugal. Only one man of twenty settlers has a pair of oxen, only two cows are in the settlement. Sunday, the 16th of September, I held services in the English language in their schoolhouse. It is a blockhouse like the rest. Although they could not understand my poor English very well, yet they all listened with great attention. They sang from their own hymn book in their native language and twenty-four partook of the Lord's Supper. This was the first Sunday Service they had had for two years.¹⁵

The conference continued to take an interest in these Icelanders and sent a petition to the Nova Scotia Government in 1877 for 200 acres of land for the use of a minister to the Icelanders. This resulted in a grant of 100 acres given in 1879. In the same year the conference petitioned the Pittsburgh Synod to educate one of the Icelanders for the Gospel ministry. At the same time the conference purchased a second-hand sawmill for this colony. Regular visits were made to the settlement by pastors Roth and Scheffer, and a congregation was organized, the settlement then being known as Markland. It was reported to the conference in August, 1880, that the Icelandic youth whom they had sent to college was making good progress. However, early in 1881, the colony began to disband and by October of the same year there were only five families remaining.

Returning to the work in Lunenburg County, J. H. Hunton, because of ill health, resigned as president of conference and relinquished his charge at Bridgewater, September 27, 1878. During his pastorate at Bridgewater a commodious parsonage was built. Hunton went to Roseville, Ohio, and then to Lima, Ohio, where he died June 17, 1908. His successor was the Rev. A. L. Yount, who was received into conference in May, 1879. In 1879 churches were built at Middle La Have and Rhodes Corner. A congregation was organized at Chester, 1879, and a church built there three years later. In 1880, Mt. Zion congregation at Middle Branch and St. Mark's, New Cornwall, were organized.

On June 25, 1880, the 350th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession was observed. On that occasion Pastor D. Luther Roth said: "Now we have four ministers in the county, fourteen churches, 1,400 communicants and fully 5,000 people."¹⁶

Pastor Roth resigned his charge at Lunenburg in 1884. During his pastorate the second and present parsonage was built in 1878.

His successor was the Rev. G. L. Rankin, who remained for twelve years, years of marked progress. Under his direction, the present church building with a seating capacity of 800 was erected. He was one of the leaders in starting and fostering the Re-Union Park Association at Wentzel's Lake, and was instrumental in securing a modern water supply system for the town of Lunenburg. His successors in Lunenburg: F. A. Bowers, 1897-1901; W. M. Weaver, 1901-1914; W. K. Houser, 1915-1920; H. H. Wahl, 1921-1923; L. F. Hartzell, 1925-1935; George Innes, 1935-1945; and L. Bald.

The next sixteen years witnessed the organization of sixteen churches, some of which had existed as preaching points for many years: Rose Bay, 1887; Middle La Have, 1887; Camperdown, 1888; New Burne, 1889; Waterloo, 1889; Conquerall Bank, 1889; Conquerall Mills, 1889; West Northfield, 1889; Hemford, 1898; Baker's Settlement, 1899; Feltzen South, 1899; New Germany, 1900; North River, 1900; Upper Northfield, 1902; Lapland, 1902; Farmville, 1903.

The re-alignment of congregations in different parishes was necessary from time to time as the organization progressed. In 1903 there were six parishes: Bridgewater, Lunenburg, Mahone Bay, Rose Bay, Midville, and New Germany, with a total of twenty-three congregations.

Among the pastors who served for periods during the twenty-seven years of the conference, and whose names have not been mentioned, were: the Rev. George M. Shiedy, under whom the Rose Bay parish was organized 1887; J. M. Angstadt; Dr. J. Maurer, who took charge of Mahone Bay parish, 1889, and Rose Bay, 1897; F. W. Kohler; A. R. Graepp; A. C. Sweinsberg; C. B. Lindtwed; L. M. McCreery; Charles G. Beck; C. H. Little; J. W. Myers.

Before closing this section of the conference, let us look once more at the patriarch, Father Cossman, the man who served forty-one years of active ministry and twenty-one years more at large. Where was he living when Roth and others occupied the pulpit in Lunenburg? On a hill beyond the town he had built his retreat which he called "Friedeburg," hill of peace. Here was his parsonage. Here he had built a tower from the top of which he could see villages along the shore—Feltzen South, Bayport, Blue Rocks, Mahone Bay with its 365 islands. In the immediate vicinity was Lunenburg, and to the eastward the majestic Atlantic. This was the spot that he loved best

of all. In his study the central place was given to a picture of the Christ. Nearby were the pictures of Luther, and Cossman's teachers, Gesenius and Tholuck of Halle. Here at the age of seventy he prepared his first English sermon, realizing that English was fast becoming the language of his flock. Here, too, was a place for manual work and laughter. On one occasion, Duff, a Presbyterian minister, came to visit him. Duff complained that he was not feeling very well and had no appetite. Father Cossman replied: "I have just the herb that you need, come with me." They went to the tool shed. An axe was given to Duff and Cossman took an axe. They felled a tree and cut it up. Needless to say Duff had a good appetite that night.¹⁷ On another occasion Pastor Yount of Bridgewater was at "Friedeberg." Cossman loaded a gun and placed a fancy bottle on a post, then, turning to Yount, he asked: "Can you shoot?" Yount took aim, fired, and shattered the bottle. "Oh, what will I do, that was Emmy's (his daughter's) nice bottle—but you can shoot, though!"

Cossman died on September 22, 1897. With synodical aid and under the direction of Dr. C. H. Little, a Cossman Memorial Church was erected in New Germany, 1905.

Cossman's tombstone reads thus:

In Memoriam
Rev. C. E. Cossmann, D.D.,
Born at
Sachsenberg, Germany
March 1, 1806
Died, September 22, 1897
Who Labored As Pastor
And Missionary of
The Ev. Lutheran Church
In Lunenburg
For Sixty-Two Years
*Wenn Das Leben Köstlich Dewessen ist, so ist es
Mühe und Arbeit Gewesen. Ps. 90: 10.
Unser Lieber Vater*

NOVA SCOTIA SYNOD

At a special meeting of the conference at Midville, April 15, 1902, the following action was taken: "Resolved that we the representatives of the Nova Scotia Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod in convention

assembled, do hereby ask for dismissal from the Pittsburgh Synod for the purpose of forming a separate synod in connection with the General Council."¹⁸

This resolution was considered at the convention of the Pittsburgh Synod, Newcastle, Pa., May 29-June 2, 1902, with the decision as follows:¹⁹

1. We recommend that the application be granted and that we accept the proposition of the Conference, to wit: "After being constituted a Synod it continue its present relation to Thiel College until it shall have established a similar institution on its own territory."

2. That this action shall become effective whenever the prospective Synod shall have been received into the General Council.

3. That the Pittsburgh Synod expresses at once its regret in the severing of the bond which has united the Nova Scotia Conference with it, and its joy in the growth and progress which have brought about its consummation.

4. That the Pittsburgh Synod extends to the pastors and people of the Nova Scotia Synod (in prospectus) its parting benediction, and invoke upon it, in its opening career, the choicest blessing of our common Lord.

5. That the President of the Pittsburgh Synod be, and hereby is, authorized to give to the several pastors and congregations constituting the Nova Scotia Conference, regular and honorable dismissal from this Synod, for the purpose of uniting in the organization of a Synod.

6. And finally, that a delegate be appointed by the Pittsburgh Synod to communicate in person this our desire to the Nova Scotia Conference when that body shall meet for organization as a Synod.

The pastors and lay delegates of the conference met in Zion Lutheran Church, Lunenburg, W. M. Weaver, pastor, July 9, 1903, to conclude the business of the Nova Scotia Conference, and to organize the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Nova Scotia. Pastor L. M. McCreery was the last president of the conference. The officers of the newly constituted Synod were: President, Jacob Maurer; Secretary, W. M. Weaver; Treasurer, Charles G. Beck. There were 6 pastors, 23 congregations and 2,454 communicants.²⁰

One of the first actions of the Synod was the founding of an Orphans' Home. The Rev. Berkemeier had been invited to speak at the re-union picnic in the park at Wentzel's Lake. His subject was "A Home for Orphans." When he concluded his message he presented to Pastor McCreery \$25 and said that the orphans at Mt. Vernon, N.Y., had sent it to start a home in Nova Scotia.²¹ A man standing

nearby directed their attention to a farm situated two miles from Bridgewater. A synodical delegation accompanied by Berkemeier went to the farm the next day and contracted to purchase it. There was a good house on the property situated on an elevation of ground, 160 acres, 35 under cultivation. The Rev. Lindtved was the first superintendent and Mrs. (Rev.) L. Bowers the first matron of the home. The cornerstone of a new building was laid on September 20, 1903, completed in 1905, and the Home formally opened for the reception of children in 1906.²² In the first six years of its existence the institution furnished a good Christian home for twenty-five orphan and half-orphan children. Rev. W. H. Little was housefather in 1907 with 15 children in the Home. In October, 1911, the Rev. C. H. Little resigned as pastor of the Mahone Bay parish and became housefather of the Home. About this time the Central Canada Synod began giving support to this project. This Home continued until 1916, in which year the remaining children were placed with suitable families, and the livestock was sold.

Another project of the Synod was the printing of a synodical paper. In 1907 the Rev. C. H. Little was elected editor-in-chief and the Rev. W. M. Weaver, business manager of the *Nova Scotia Lutheran*. The subscription list was 354 in 1910; 460 in 1912; 700 in 1915. For a number of years the paper paid its own way without aid from Synod. In 1920 the *Nova Scotia Lutheran* merged with the *Canada Lutheran* which later periodical then became the official publication of both the Central Canada Synod and the Nova Scotia Synod. A few years later the Synod again published its own paper.

The Rev. L. M. McCreery came to the Midville parish, July 1, 1896. The parish consisted of three organized congregations and several preaching points scattered over a territory of twenty-five miles.²³ He served this scattered parish alone for three or four years. In 1900 some of the preaching points were added to the New Germany parish under Rev. Weaver. While McCreery was at Midville four new congregations were organized: Emmanuel, Hemford, 1898; St. Luke's, Baker's Settlement, 1899; Holy Trinity, Lapland, 1902; Mount Calvary, Upper Northfield, 1902. Under his direction churches were built at Upper Northfield and Waterloo. In 1903 he accepted a call to Bridgewater where a new church was built within a few years. During this

pastorate new churches were built at Lapland, Camperdown, Newcombville and Middlewood. Under his guidance, 1908, Conquerall Bank, Conquerall Mills, Camperdown, Lapland, Waterloo, Middleville, and Newcombville were formed into the Conquerall parish. Rev. McCreery is still known in Nova Scotia as the church builder. In addition to organizing and building churches, he served terms as president of the Nova Scotia Conference and Synod. Leaving Nova Scotia, January, 1909, he went to Morrisburg, Ontario, then to Dunbar, and finally served St. Peter's, in the capital city of Ottawa, 1919-1934, retiring at the venerable age of eighty-five.

A review in 1913²⁴ indicated that in the first decade of the Synod's history eleven new churches had been built, two parsonages erected, the Bethany Orphans' Home founded, one new parish created, and a synodical W.M.S. organized (1912). In 1913 there were eight pastors, 28 congregations, 2,804 members and 1,450 in the Sunday schools. In the same year, 1913, Grace congregation at First South, which had been worshipping in a small chapel for several years, was organized as a congregation and built a new church. During the next decade congregations were organized at Halifax, 1915; Walden, 1915; Upper La Have, 1920; and Branch La Have, 1925.

The Rev. Milton Bieber, missionary of the General Council, and first president of the Synod of Central Canada, visited Nova Scotia for several weeks in 1912.²⁵ He awakened interest in the organization of a synodical Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, which society was formally organized at Bridgewater, June 27, 1912, with seven societies and Mrs. W. E. Buchholtz as first president. Bieber spent some time in Halifax and found fifty Lutherans. The Nova Scotia Synod was eager to establish a mission in the capital city of the province but it was not until two years later that Bieber could give sufficient time to this field. On the first Sunday in Advent, 1914, he began regular services in the Temperance Hall and organized the Lutheran Church of the Resurrection, January 10, 1915. The church building on Windsor Street was dedicated on July 9th. Dr. W. M. Weaver returned to Nova Scotia to become the first regular pastor of the new mission.

The Rev. William M. Weaver²⁶ was born on June 30, 1872, in Birdsboro, Pa. He was educated at Muhlenberg College and Phila-

delphia Seminary and was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University. He came to Nova Scotia in 1899, and served for one year in the Midville parish as assistant to L. M. McCreery. For nearly two years he was the pastor of the New Germany parish, and then for fourteen years at Lunenburg. After a short pastorate at Ambridge, Pa., he returned to Halifax, where he served until 1922. He was connected with the Re-Union Park Association and the Bethany Orphans' Home, president of the Nova Scotia Synod, 1909-1911, and editor of the *Nova Scotia Lutheran*. In 1953, Dr. Weaver, then living in New Jersey, flew to Nova Scotia to be present at the Synod's fiftieth anniversary. He was then eighty years of age. He died at Lakeland, N.J., March 2, 1958.

During the depression years the Halifax mission experienced difficult times and was re-organized in 1935 by Rev. George Hagedorn. Douglas Conrad, a native son, was installed as the pastor in August, 1940, and under his direction the congregation has made steady progress. It fostered daughter congregations at Dartmouth and Spryfield.

During the Second World War many Norwegians were stationed in Halifax, and were ministered to by Pastor Hindel of the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, assisted occasionally by H. A. Strand, Lutheran chaplain at H.M.C.S. *Cornwallis*.²⁷ The Church of the Resurrection opened its church and homes to these fellow Lutherans.

In 1948 and 1949 several small refugee ships made epic trips across the Atlantic and arrived in Halifax.²⁸ These Estonian and Latvian Lutherans were without passports and were detained in Halifax until the Government granted them special entry into Canada. Pastor Conrad, and his members, together with immigrant pastor S. F. M. Friederichsen and Miss K. Petersons, Lutheran World Federation worker, were of great assistance to these people.

Pastor Friederichsen, referring to the arrival of the *Amanda*, *Sarabande*, *Parnu* and *Gladstone*, writes:

I saw the broken diesel-engine of the 70-foot-long, fifty-year-old refugee boat, *Amanda*. I touched its worn and weatherbeaten sails and stood below deck at the drinking water tank which had almost been empty 700 sea-miles from the Canadian coast, leaving 27 men and women and four children to the mercy of God and the wild sea.

I sat with Captain Jacobs Anderson in his cabin and listened to his tale of thrills and dangers—the flight from Sweden, the kind Portuguese



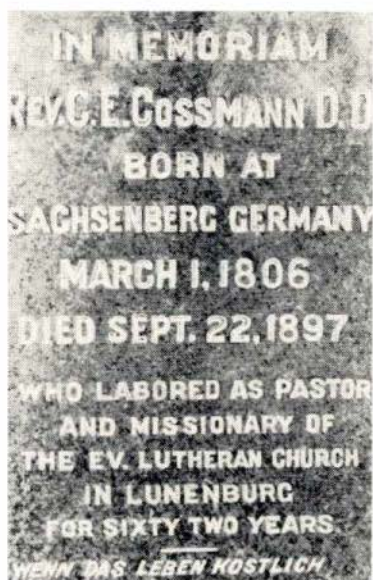
OLD DUTCH CHURCH
Halifax



ZION, LUNENBURG



LUNENBURG BELL



COSSMAN STONE

people at St. Miguele of the Azores who showered the refugees with gifts of fruit, the miserable 47 days of seasickness, the distressing and hazardous 400 sea-miles of cruising with scanty sails, the glad meeting with the USA Coast Guard Cutter *Unimac*, and the final towing trip to Halifax by the Canadian government boat, the *French-Canadian*.

I looked at the narrow two-and-a-half-foot-high berths and considered myself lucky not to be compelled to lie forty-seven days in one of them, as the poor sick woman had to do who expected the birth of her child.

We climbed on board the *Sarabande* which lay alongside the *Amanda*. It is an old seven-fifty-two-ton English mine-sweeper which by three months of arduous labor the refugees had converted into some sort of passenger vessel to carry 258 people, including sixty children.

Three rows of narrow berths, on top of each other and so low that one could never sit up straight, were the space which most of the refugees occupied during the twenty-five days' crossing.

The people of these two boats, together with 160 refugees of the previously arrived *Parnu* and *Gladstone*—all in all about 448—are eagerly awaiting the decision for their admittance to Canada. They have come illegally. The Lutheran church has not encouraged them to come that way, in fact has warned them not to disobey Canadian immigration laws. But from a humanitarian and psychological point of view their unusual manner of flight from Sweden and entry to Canada can be considered sympathetically.

In the two services for these refugees, held on Sept. 18, at detention quarters, Pier 21, and the old Rockhead Hospital, outside the limits of Halifax, we sang English, Latvian and Estonian hymns. The choir of Resurrection Church and the beautiful little altar with candles and flowers, so neatly arranged by our Immigrant Welfare Officer, Miss Katrina Petersons, added to the splendor of the Service.

I was privileged to bring these people the comfort of God's Word in English, Swedish and German. You should have heard these people sing! The rich tenors and strong basses of the men, led by the lovely contraltos and fine sopranos of the women and children, sang praise to the Lord. What did the detention quarters matter, the locked doors and the barred windows! The living Christ with His spirit was in our midst!²⁹

Some members of the Halifax congregation were living across the harbor in the town of Dartmouth. Pastor Conrad conducted the first Lutheran service there, July 9, 1950. Rev. R. E. Bieber was called as the first pastor, 1951, and the Church of Our Saviour was received into Synod, 1952.

The Rev. *Edgar V. Nonamaker*³⁰ was born at Bedminster, Pa., September 14, 1885, the son of Dr. and Mrs. N. S. Nonamaker. He graduated from Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., in 1909, and

from the Philadelphia Seminary in 1912. He was ordained and received into synod the same year. He served the Lutheran church as pastor in the Northfield parish, 1912-1921, and the Mahone Bay parish, 1921-1927. Edgar Nonamaker was the president of the Nova Scotia Synod for several years. Following his retirement he resided at Bridgewater, where he died, Sunday, October 11, 1953, at the age of sixty-eight years.

The *Rev. C. H. Whitteker* was president of the Nova Scotia Synod for twenty-two years. He was born September 30, 1900, in the village of Williamsburg, Ontario. He received his preliminary education at Williamsburg and Morrisburg. In 1921 C. H. Whitteker became an instructor in the High School department at Waterloo College. In 1926 he graduated from the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary of Canada and was ordained by the Nova Scotia Synod. After serving for five years as pastor of the Conquerall parish, he accepted a call to Bridgewater, where he has been a faithful pastor for more than a quarter of a century. In 1935, he was elected president of the synod and guided that synod as its chief executive until 1957. The University of Western Ontario, in 1950, conferred on him the D.D. degree.

During the presidency of C. H. Whitteker efforts were made toward missionary expansion. In 1935 candidate Carl Ihbe was ordained by the synod to serve German and Danish immigrants, miners, and farmers, who had settled in the Annapolis Valley, northern Nova Scotia, and southern New Brunswick. The organization of the Dartmouth congregation has been referred to above. In 1952 the Church of the Good Shepherd, Upper Branch, was received into synod as a new congregation. In 1956-1957, the Danish Lutheran Church in Saint John, New Brunswick, formerly affiliated with the "Danish Church Abroad," became a member of synod. At the same time the synod began work in Newfoundland, Pastor Oswald Gulbis ministering to the Germans and Latvians of that province. An interest was also manifested by the synod in the Lutherans living at Seven Islands in Labrador. In 1948 four Chinese theological candidates were ordained by the synod. Dr. Whitteker's successor as president of synod was the Rev. Douglas Conrad.

In 1960 mission work was started in Moncton and Fredericton.

The elderly pastors who served in Nova Scotia came from Ger-

many, the United States, and from Ontario, but more recently several of the congregations have been served by native sons. Also the synod has given to the church at large men such as Dr. G. Lawrence Himmelman, born at Rose Bay, Nova Scotia, and who was, from 1950-1960, president of the Pittsburgh Synod. Dr. Austin Alvin Zinck, born in Chester, Nova Scotia, was professor and president at Waterloo College and Seminary, and for many years pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Milwaukee, Wis., and author of *What a Church Member Should Know*. Among the Nova Scotia born clergy are: Seward Hirtle, Douglas Conrad, Arnold Conrad, Arthur Conrad, Harold Crouse, James Dauphinee, Forrest Mosher, Roseville Burgoyne, Clyde Wentzel, Wilfred Myra, Donald Himmelman, Carroll Fritze, and Theodore Schrader.

Alma Conrad, Florence Reinhardt, Alice Bald, Shirley Lohnes and Marilyn C. Demone attended the Deaconess Motherhouse at Baltimore and Philadelphia. Ervin E. Young, Stewardship Chairman of synod, served on the staff of the ULCA Lutheran Layman's Movement for two years.

Nova Scotia Lutherans have not had many of their sons in the halls of Parliament, but mention should be made of a few. Philip Knaut was a member for Lunenburg in the first Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1758, and in 1776 his name still appeared on the list of representatives. "He came from Saxony in the frigate, *Canning*. At the first settlement of Lunenburg he was a coroner, sheriff and Justice of the Peace, kept one of the earliest stores opened in Lunenburg, and represented the county in the first Nova Scotia Parliament."³¹

Otto William Schwartz³² represented Lunenburg County, 1776-1782. Des Brisay has this to say of another Lutheran: Leonard Christofher Rudolf came from Germany, 1751. He was a Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Inferior Court, first Registrar of Deeds, Colonel of the Militia, and member of the House of Assembly for many years. He died in Lunenburg, May 20, 1784, aged seventy-four years, and was buried under the Lutheran church of which he was a member.

In more recent years Lunenburg has been represented at Ottawa by the Lutheran, Lloyd Crouse, elected in 1957 and again in 1958, and at Halifax by Dr. W. N. Rehfuss, 1925-1928.

Many of the Nova Scotians are seafaring people. In the early

history of Lunenburg crude ships sailed to the Grand Banks for catches of cod. As time went on the famous Lunenburg shipyard, owned by Smith and Rhuland, supplied tall and graceful schooners, and the many shipyards of Shelbourne and Yarmouth built ships and barques that traded around the world. Bridgewater shipped timber to many distant countries. A four-mast sailing vessel was not an uncommon sight in the harbors of Nova Scotia.

This constrains the writer to add a few paragraphs about the famed schooner, *Bluenose*,³³ the profile of which was engraved on Canadian fifty-cent postage stamps issued in 1930-1931, and on current Canadian ten-cent pieces. The queen of the North Atlantic deep-sea fishing fleet and international racing champion was launched from the Lunenburg shipyards, March 26, 1921. Under her captain, Angus Walters, and a crew which included Lutheran men, she built up a long record of victories both as a fishing schooner and racing vessel. Other ships were built to her exact specifications but none equalled her in speed and efficiency.

The conditions governing the international trophy contest for deep-sea fishing schooners required that the vessels representing the Canadian and American fishing fleets must have spent at least one season on the fishing grounds. To the Grand Banks the *Bluenose* sailed and came back with a large catch of cod. She was then groomed and prepared for the race.

In October, 1921, the *Bluenose* won the race with the U.S.A. *Elsie*. The following year she successfully defended the trophy in the contest with the *Henry Ford*. When ten years old, in 1931, the *Bluenose* met the year-old *Gertrude L. Theband* for the supremacy of the Atlantic and again led her rival to the finish. She remained the undisputed champion both in racing and fishing, holding the record for the largest single catch of fish ever brought into Lunenburg.

On one occasion when the *Bluenose* was being overhauled, it was necessary to replace a small piece of timber. From this timber a walking cane was made and presented by Captain Walters to the pastor of Zion Lutheran Church, Lunenburg.

In The Wake of The American Revolution

To keep the empire one in unity
And brotherhood of its imperial race,
For that they nobly fought and all but won
Where losing was to win a higher fame
In building up on northern land to be
A vast dominion stretched from sea to sea.

Wm. Kirby

When the war of the American Revolution was over, the United States Congress offered the Hessian and Brunswick soldiers an opportunity to remain in the U.S.A. A small percentage took advantage of this offer and settled in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The British Government also made a liberal offer, promising free transportation and three hundred acres of land to those who would settle in Canada. About 2,000 accepted this offer and settled in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario. However, the vast majority, 17,313, returned to Germany.¹

The Hessians, after being temporarily quartered in the Province of Quebec, were conveyed up the St. Lawrence River by batteaux, and landed on the shores of Prince Edward County, Ontario, at Macdonnell's Cove (later Pringers).² The exact date of their settlement is not known, but an official report of disbanded troops indicates that the date was prior to October 4, 1784. The settlement was made in Marysburgh Township.

An historian of that district writes thus:

Unacquainted with the English language and unaccustomed to the profound solitude of the forest and the flittings of the dark-skinned Indian, it is no reason for wonder if the Hessians felt otherwise than contented in their wilderness home. Although on the borders of the lovely bay, rich in valuable fish, they were ignorant of the mode of catching them; and when the government supplies, which were continued to them as to other settlers, were withdrawn, although this valuable article of diet was at their very door, they were exposed to the terrors of actual starvation. A dark tale of cupidity and heartless

carelessness on the part of the officials, to whom were entrusted the duty of furnishing the necessary stores has been told. When we remember the circumstances, the settlers along hundreds of miles of uncleared land, that the stores had to be transported from Montreal by batteaux and that, necessarily, many persons became responsible, we need not be surprised if there was carelessness and neglect and some reprehensible appropriation of stores.³

The same writer, referring to their religious life, continues:

While few or no books of a secular nature were brought by the settlers, a large number, true to their conscience, carried a copy of the Bible, even many of the disbanded soldiers had one, especially the Lutherans. These were often in the German or the Dutch language. Some of these venerable and sacred relics we have seen; one in German which belonged to Bongard (originally Bungar) of Marysburgh—Conrad Bongard became the servant to Surveyor Holland. He married a widow, Carr, whose husband had been in the 24th Regiment of Royal Fusiliers, and had died while a prisoner in Virginia. He eventually settled in the fifth township (Marysburgh) where he died January, 1846, aged 89 years. His wife, Susan, died February, 1846, aged 98 years. Both were members of the Lutheran Church.

Several hundred acres of land in the first concession were granted to John Henry William Meineke, a native of Magdeburgh, Prussia, a member of Reidesse's Regiment, and a comrade of Conrad Bongard.⁴ He with his wife and three sons came to Marysburgh from Sorel, Quebec, 1784. They were members of the Lutheran Church. The Minakers (later spelling) were buried in Minaker cemetery at Bayside, Marysburgh.

A Lutheran log church, twenty-four feet square, was erected in Marysburgh shortly after the settlement was made.⁵ The church was built on Lot 15, overlooking the lake. The site is about midway between Waupoos and Cape Vesey (now called the rock).⁶ The land belonged to James North. The cemetery was on an adjoining lot owned by Peter Rose, and is now known as the Rose Burying Ground. The wife of Peter Rose was Christine Bongard, a daughter of Conrad Bongard, concerning whom reference has been made above. Some of the logs of this church may yet be seen in the Rose homestead on Lot 16.

The first Lutheran clergymen in Marysburgh were the aged Heinrich Meyer and his son, August Friedrich Meyer, both natives of Germany, who had served Lutheran congregations in the United States.

The elder Meyer (Maier)⁷ had ministered to the Carlisle parish in Pennsylvania, 1790-1792. At Carlisle the Hessians had built a large barracks following their capture at Trenton. In 1792, when living with his son near Albany, the elder Meyer became a member of the New York Ministerium.

The son, August Friedrich Meyer, was licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1792: "Resolved that Mr. August Friedrich Meyer be licensed as a candidate for Teilstown, Rensselaer, Veyk and in New York State."⁸ In the *Memorial History of Hartwick Synod* reference is made to Berne congregation, Albany County: "Previous to the year 1792, and in all probability, several years after, it would appear from the title page of the church record that one August Friedrich Meyer was pastor."⁹ He like his father united with the New York Ministerium. In 1799, he is referred to as working in Canada and the same year his father's name disappears from the roll of the N.Y. Ministerium. After coming to Canada the young Meyer was united in marriage to a daughter of Henry Smith, one of the prominent Lutherans of Marysburgh, who had been paymaster of the Hessian Regiment.¹⁰ Since both he and Schwerdfeger had served congregations near Albany, it seems likely that Schwerdfeger was instrumental in bringing Meyer to Canada. August Friedrich Meyer, in 1804, accepted a call to the Lutheran congregation in Dundas County. At that time, the Marysburgh congregation came under the care of the Rev. J. Gunther Wiegant, who was then pastor of the Lutheran churches across the Bay of Quinte in Lennox and Addington County.

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

For more than a century, the character and achievements of the United Empire Loyalists have been fully recognized in Canada, but often the American historians in dealing with this group of people have been very unfair. However, of late years, the nobility and honor of the men and women who remained loyal to the Crown in the years of the American Revolution have been more generally recognized and vindicated. Colonel Sabine states: "It is evident that a considerable proportion of the professional and editorial intelligence and talents of the thirteen colonies was arrayed against the popular movement."¹¹ M. C. Tyler, in the *American Review*, writes: "Of the whole body of the

loyalists throughout the thirteen colonies, it must be said that it contained more than a third of the influential characters; that is, a very considerable portion of the customary chiefs in each community."¹²

At the time of the American Revolution, there were about twenty-five Lutheran clergymen in what is now the U.S.A.¹³ The majority of these men took no active part in the conflict. Of those who were active, some took the part of the revolutionists, while others were loyal to the Crown. The three Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania, Christian Street of Virginia, and John Nichols Martin of South Carolina, all these have been lauded by American historians for the part they played in support of the Revolution. But it must be remembered that several Lutheran clergymen came to Canada after the conflict because of their patriotic convictions toward the Crown. Others, such as Triebner, a pastor of the Salzburger Lutherans in Georgia, openly showed sympathy toward and gave support to the British soldiers.

This work will not permit a general or extensive treatment of the United Empire Loyalists. We must confine ourselves to those of Lutheran faith; and even then, restrict the account almost exclusively to those who came from New York State. There were United Empire Loyalists of the Lutheran faith in many of the states, but those who built the first Lutheran churches in Ontario came from the district about the Mohawk and Schoharie Rivers. Because of this fact, it is necessary to give some background material concerning the Palatine Lutherans who became United Empire Loyalists, and organized the first Lutheran church in Ontario.

While it does not at the moment seem germane to the subject, nevertheless, it will prove profitable, in view of subsequent developments, to consider the effect of the war of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713, and the previous conflict, 1689-1697, on that section of Germany known as the Palatinate. The area included the cities of Spire, Wurms, Mayence, Mannheim, Heidelberg, and all that territory on both sides of the line where the Neckar empties into it.

To make the Rhine the eastern boundary of France has always been the desire of that nation, and Louis XIV was very eager to fulfil this dream. The Palatinate, because of its situation, became the battleground of a long conflict between Louis and nearly the rest of Europe. Turenne, leading the French forces, laid waste the Palatinate

to the west bank of the Rhine. Thrice the armies of France repeated the invasion and devastation of that beautiful and fertile district. Macaulay, the historian, writes:

The French commander announced to near half a million of human beings, that he granted them three days of grace. Soon the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children fleeing from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger; but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers. Meanwhile, the work of destruction began. The flames went up from every market place, every hamlet, every parish church, every county seat within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were ploughed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains, where had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree, was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills round what had once been Heidelberg.¹⁴

Religious persecution was another contributing cause for this exodus.¹⁵ In 1546, Fredrick II, elector of the Palatinate, espoused the Lutheran faith. His successor, Fredrick III, favored the Reformed theology. Of the succeeding electors, some adhered to Lutheran doctrine, others to the Reformed. A Calvinist elector was usually succeeded by a Lutheran, who in turn was followed by a Calvinist. Thus, over a period of many years, the Protestant faith became firmly established. In 1690, John William became elector. During his reign, a great change took place. He favored neither the Lutheran nor the Calvinist doctrine, but espoused the Roman Catholic faith and endeavored to force his views upon his subjects.

The Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, brought to a close the War of the Grand Alliance, but left the ecclesiastical power in the hands of the Catholics. Their country devastated, their remaining churches confiscated, their religious freedom denied, and the War of the Spanish Succession working additional havoc, a large group of the Protestant Palatines sought a refuge elsewhere.

Books and papers from England had been distributed in the Palatinate with Queen Anne's picture on them and the title page in letters of gold, which on that account were called *The Golden Book*. These books and papers were for the purpose of encouraging the Palatines to come to England. During the years 1708-1710 thousands

of them accepted the invitation, among which were many holding the Lutheran faith.

The great problem facing the queen and her ministry was what to do with the large number of Palatines. The Lutheran churches in London, known as St. Mary's of Savoy, under its pastor, the Reverend George Andress Ruperti, and the Royal Chapel of St. James (Lutheran), associate pastor, Johann Tribbeko, interested themselves in these poor people. It was the spiritual home of many of these Lutheran emigrants during the period of their stay in London. The German Lutheran clergy had considerable influence at the English Court due to the fact that the husband of Queen Anne was a Lutheran. Army tents were supplied for the Palatines. Vacant warehouses were opened to shelter them. Ninepence a day was given to them by the government and collections were taken up in the churches for their benefit.¹⁶

At this opportune time, there came to England a delegation from the Province of New York. This delegation, headed by Peter Schuyler, the Mayor of Albany, and Colonel Nicholson, had induced five Sachems of the Mohawk Indians to accompany them.¹⁷ In their walk in the outskirts of London, they (the Indians) saw the unenviable condition of the houseless and homeless Germans; and one of them, unsolicited and voluntarily, presented the queen a tract of his land in Schoharie, New York, for the use and benefit of the distressed Germans.

In the early part of the year 1710, ten ships with about 3,000 of these Palatines on board set sail for New York. Storms separated the ships, one was wrecked on Long Island and thus furnished the subject for one of Whittier's poems. The remaining ships came safely to their destination at intervals during June and July of 1710. Governor Hunter, under date of July 24, 1710, wrote to the Board of Trade:

By a small vessel bound for Lisbon, I gave your Lordship notice of our arrival here (June 14). Since that time, all the Palatine ships, separated by the weather, are arrived safe, except the *Herbert Frigate*, where our tents and arms are. She was cast away on the east end of Long Island on the 7th of July. The men are safe, but our goods much damaged. We have lost about 470 of our number.¹⁸

In October, 1710, Hunter reported further: "The Palatines began last week to embark for the place where they are settled. The rest of the time after they had prepared the trees for making pitch and tar,

they shall be employed in raising those things that will be fitting for their future existence."¹⁹ One month later, the Governor again addressed the Board of Trade: "I have now settled the Palatines upon good land on both sides of the Hudson, about one hundred miles up, adjacent to the pines. I have planted them in five villages, three on the east side of the river, upon 6,000 acres purchased from Mr. Livingston about two miles from Rowlaf Jansems Kill. The other two on the west side, near Sawyer's Creek."²⁰

On the west side, at West Camp, the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal resided. This Lutheran pastor accompanied the Palatines to America and ministered to them until his death in 1719.²¹

The Documentary History of the State of New York contains many letters and statements concerning the hardships and oppressions of the Palatines while they were quartered at Livingstone Manor, but the present work does not permit an extended reproduction of those accounts. We now draw some information from the autobiography of Conrad Weiser, one of the noteworthy members of that band of colonists whose name lives today as a worthy pioneer of Lutheranism in the United States of America. He writes:

On June 13, 1710, we came to anchor at New York in North America, and in the same autumn, were taken to Livingston's Manor at the expense of the Queen. Here in Livingston's, or as it was called by the Germans, Loewenstein's Manor, we were to burn tar and cultivate hemp, to repay the expenses incurred by the Queen in bringing us from Germany to England and from England to New York. We were directed by several commissioners, viz.: John Cast, Henry Meyer, Richard Seykott, who were put in authority over us by the Robert Hunter, Governor of New York. But neither object succeeded and in 1713, the people were discharged from their engagements and declared free. Then the people scattered themselves over the whole Province of New York. Many remained where they were. About 150 families determined to remove to Schoharie, (a place about forty English miles to the west of Albany). They, therefore, sent deputies to the land of Maquas to consult with the Indians about it, who allowed them to occupy Schoharie. For the Indian deputies, who were in England at the time the German people were lying in tents on the Blackmoor, had made a present to Queen Anne of the Schoharie, that she might settle these people upon it. Indian guides were sent to show the Germans where Schoharie was. In the spring of 1714, about 150 families removed to Schoharie in great poverty. The people settled in the villages of which there were seven. The first and nearest Schenectady was called Kneskerndorf; second, Gerlachodorf; third, Fuchsendorf;

fourth, Hans George Schmidt-dorf; fifth, Weisers-dorf; sixth, Hartmans-dorf; seventh, Ober Weisers-dorf. So named after the deputies who were sent from Livingston's Manor to the Maqua country.

Here now this people lived peaceably for several years. But they had taken possession without informing the Governor of New York; who, after letting them know his dissatisfaction, sold the land to seven rich merchants, four of whom lived in Albany, the other three in New York. Upon this, a great uproar arose in Schoharie and Albany, because many people in Albany wished the poor people to retain their lands. The people in Schoharie divided into two parties, the strongest did not wish to obey, but to keep the land, and therefore, sent deputies to England to obtain a grant from George the First, not only for Schoharie, but for more land in addition. But the plans did not succeed according to their wishes. In the end, they got an order to the newly-arrived Governor of New York, William Burnett, to grant vacant land to the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen Anne. Governor Burnett gave patents for the land to a few who were willing to settle in the Maqua country; namely, Stony Arabia and above the falls, but none on the river, as the people had hoped. They, therefore, scattered. The larger part removed to the Maqua country or remained in Schoharie and bought land from the before mentioned rich men.²²

They labored hard and became prosperous. Occasional religious services were held by the Lutheran pastors, Joshua Kocherthal, Falckner, Bernard Von Deuhren, William Christopher Birkenmeyer, and Peter N. Sommer. "Although blest with the sight and services of a minister only once or twice a year, they assembled on Sundays and edified one another as they could through God's Word and the songs of Zion."²³

But the hardship of these people had not yet come to an end. In 1757, the French, under the command of Belletre, with a group of Indians to aid him, came to the Mohawk district. The property on the north side of the Mohawk was despoiled, the settlers saving their lives by crossing the river. The following year the south side of the river was visited in a similar way.

At the outbreak of hostilities in the War of the American Revolution, many of the Palatines refused to take up arms against the King. Their leader at that time was Sir John Johnson, a great land owner. "He was unquestionably a loyalist from principle, else he would scarcely have hazarded, as he did, and ultimately lost, domains larger and fairer than probably ever belonged to a single proprietor in

America, William Penn only excepted."²⁴ The Lutherans held him in high respect, mindful of the fact that his mother was a Lutheran and his father, Sir William Johnson, had been their friend and had presented as a gift the tract of land at Johnstown whereon St. Paul's Lutheran Church was built.²⁵

Convinced that Sir John was a Loyalist or Tory and fearing his influence over the inhabitants of the Mohawk district, Schuyler sent Colonel Dayton to Johnstown to take Sir John a prisoner. Loyalist friends in Albany warned Johnson of his danger. Quickly gathering about a number of others who were not sympathetic with the cause of the colonists, he struck into the woods. Avoiding the familiar Lake Champlain route, the party kept to the bush country between the head waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence. After nineteen days of great hardship, provisions exhausted, footsore and weary, the company arrived at Montreal.

It was but a short time when other Loyalists from the Mohawk followed the example of their leader, some coming with the Jessup brothers and others with Alexander and John McDonald. Those with the McDonalds were chiefly Scotch and German Loyalists. Carrying out instructions from England, dated March 26, 1777, Governor Sir Guy Carleton issued an invitation to all Loyalists of the neighboring frontier to join the King's forces. Many responded to this invitation. Sir John Johnson was commissioned to raise two battalions, one of which was named the King's Royal Regiment of New York, or the Royal Greens. There were also a number of Palatines in Butler's Rangers. These battalions fought nobly on the British side until the end of the conflict and, though many of the Palatine soldiers spoke the German language, they had won the right to be called United Empire Loyalists.

In the triangular section of Quebec, bounded on the east by the St. Francis River, on the northwest by the St. Lawrence and on the south by the states of New York and Vermont, came many Loyalists during the course of the war.²⁶ There, at the Isle aux Noix on the northern tip of Lake Champlain, were quartered Sir John's regiments at the close of the conflict. Some delay in permanently settling the Loyalists was occasioned by the fact that a number of the proposed townships had not been completely surveyed.

Some of the Palatine Loyalists, anxious to establish a home immediately, chose tracts of land in eastern Seigniories of Quebec, particularly within the county of Mississquoi, which borders on New York State. C. M. Day, in her *History of the Eastern Townships*, referring to St. Armand Seignior in Mississquoi County: "The first permanent settlement made in St. Armand was in the autumn of 1784, when a party of U.E. Loyalists, most of whom had been in the British service during the Revolutionary War, chose locations near Mississquoi Bay. Many of them were of German origin, and had left their homes on the Hudson and elsewhere, to share the fortune of the Royal cause."²⁷ Other German Loyalist settlements in the same county were at Philipsburg, named after the German settler, Philip Rüter; Freleghsburg, named after Abram Frelegh; and at Noyan. Potton in Brome County was also a prominent German settlement. There is no doubt but that some of these German Loyalists who settled in Mississquoi had been members of the Lutheran Church, while living along the Hudson or Mohawk. In the new settlement there was no Lutheran clergyman. Some of their fellow Germans were descendants of the Palatines who had been sent to Ireland in 1710.²⁸ These latter had followed Philip Embury to America in the years 1760-1765. While in Ireland, they had been ministered to for a number of years by the Lutheran Pastor Miller, following whose death, many of them joined the Wesleyan Methodists. With no Lutheran pastor to serve them, the German Lutherans of Mississquoi drifted into membership of the Methodist and Anglican churches.

The coming of Lutheran Loyalists to Nova Scotia, particularly the Lutheran clergyman, Houseal, has been dealt with in a previous chapter. There is also evidence that there were Lutheran U.E. Loyalists among the soldiers of Butler's Rangers, who were settled in the Niagara Peninsula, prior to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. We shall not deal with that district at this time. The main interest of the reader will centre in the two districts of Ontario, where Lutheran churches were established by the Loyalists.

Sir John Johnson's second corps was settled in the vicinity of the Bay of Quinte. There in Lennox and Addington County, three Lutheran churches were built and four preaching stations established.

Ebenezer Lutheran Church at Big Creek, Fredericksburg Town-

ship, about four miles south of Napanee, was the mother church. It was built about the year 1800, a frame building, strongly constructed of virgin timber, which stood the storms of 137 winters. Being in a dilapidated condition and no longer used for religious services, it was torn down in 1937. The church was deeded to the Methodists in 1879 by the survivors of the Lutheran Board of Trustees.²⁹ Occasional services were held in the building by the latter denomination until 1924. The cemetery nearby was visited by the writer a few years ago. It was in a deplorable condition, overgrown with weeds, but the inscriptions on the tombstones were fairly clear. A number of the names contained on the old church record, such as Fretz, Fralich, Schmidt, were found on the stones. The church record gives the number of communicants in 1796 as 51; in 1806 as 46; and in September, 1832, as 51.

St. Peter's Church, built in the second concession of Ernestown, was erected about 1804. The deed given by Jonas Amey empowered the Lutheran trustees to grant the use of the building to the Methodists and Presbyterians, when it was not needed by the Lutherans. This church, several times renovated, stood until a few years ago when it was destroyed by fire.

The Stone Church, built in what is now the village of Napanee Mills in Camden Township, early fell under the influence of the Methodists. It was torn down about the year 1873, and a Methodist church was erected on the same site. The inscription on the present stone church is "G.M. Church, A.D. 1875." The "G.M." evidently stands for German Methodist.

Four preaching stations were established at various points in the county in the townships of Camden, East Richmond, sixth concession of Ernestown and at Mohawk Bay. At none of these points was a church erected, though an unsuccessful attempt was made to erect one in Richmond Township in 1828.

The first Lutheran pastor who served these congregations was the Reverend John Guntur Wigandt (Weigant, Weagant). He was granted a license to preach by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1792, and served the Danytown parish until 1795. That year he was in attendance at the Ministerium and was still listed as licensed candidate. A letter addressed to Governor Simcoe by the elders and deacons of the

parish and dated April 24, 1796, gives some information about this man. We quote two paragraphs of that letter:³⁰

A young minister of the Gospel, named Wigandt, who also in Germany was a subject of his majesty and was received by the Royal Consistory at Stade in Germany among the number of candidates, after being examined and found fit for the office of a preacher, and is come here last winter (1795). He was also received among the number of ministers of the Consistory at Philadelphia, and brought sufficient proofs thereof with him, and we are much satisfied as well with his doctrine, as also his life and behaviour.

Our desire therefore, is to keep this young man among us in the office of a minister, but since we are all new beginners, only beginning to make a living again after the troubles of the last year, we are not able to make up any decent salary for his support, and humbly address, therefore, Your Excellency to grant to the said J. Wigandt the annual pay of same salary which the ministers of the Church of England receive; or if Your Excellency could not grant this our petition, perhaps you might please to grant him for an encouragement to stay with us a tract of land, the quantity of which we leave to your kind protection, we are constantly,

Your Excellency's obedient servants,
Elders and Deacons of the German
Protestant congregations in Bay Kenty.
NICHOLAS AMEY and eleven others.

The response of the Governor to this appeal is not known. Wigandt remained in Fredericksburg and Ernestown until 1808. While in this parish he was associated with the Ministerium of New York.

From the J. G. Weagant correspondence filed in the Church of England Archives, at Ottawa, Ontario, we glean the following in Weagant's own words:

I was a Hanovarian, a King's subject born, having received my education in the royal university at Göttingham in the Kingdom of Hanover. . . . On the 29th day of September, 1800, I was ordained in the U.S.A. by three Lutheran clergymen, but I now doubt whether the Ordination was in due form as I was not bound to a conforming with the Symbolical Books. . . . I was a Lutheran minister in the Bay of Quinte where I had a good farm, but my congregation was small and so was my salary, amounting in all to about forty pounds per annum. I then received a call (1808) from the Lutheran congregations in Williamsburgh and Osnabruc. I sold my farm and accepted the call.

The missionary of the Church of England in Fredericksburg and Ernestown did not have much love for the Lutherans, as is evidenced

by two letters which he sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The quotation follows:

Ernestown, May 7, 1807.

The Lutheran Preacher here last winter was going to leave his people; but they raised his salary, and he stays with them again. I do not like the German Lutherans.³¹

Ernestown, April 18, 1811.

Last winter I hired the Town Clerk of Ernestown for four dollars to give me an account of the present state of religion in that township. He reckoned up no persons under seventeen years of age—Church of England 37, Methodist 170, Presbyterians 96, Lutherans 56, Baptists 15, Romans 10, Universalists 16, Quakers 4. I always look upon the township of Fredericksburg as much better affected to the Church of England than Ernestown, but I have not just the same confidence in their Town Clerk, and he is a Lutheran.³²

Christopher Frölich attended the 1815 N. Y. Ministerium at which meeting Wm. McCarty was licensed for service in the Fredericksburg-Ernestown parish.³³ On January 29, 1816, he was united in marriage to Clarissa Freleigh, the daughter of a member of the Ebenezer Lutheran Church. The ceremony was performed in St. John's Episcopal Church at Bath. The same year he was ordained. The length of this pastorate is somewhat uncertain, but it would appear that he left Lennox County about a year after his marriage, as his name appears in 1817 as pastor of a church in New York State.³⁴ In 1831 he demitted the Lutheran ministry.

John P. Goertner, a graduate of Hartwick Seminary, who was granted a license to preach by the New York Ministerium, served this parish as a missionary for a few months in 1825. His report to the Ministerium records two baptisms and a donation of \$14.50 for missions.³⁵ Goertner encouraged the congregations to apply to the New York Ministerium for a resident pastor. On June 1, 1825, the parish forwarded a letter to that synod requesting that a Lutheran minister be sent to them. The letter was written under the guidance of Goertner and was signed by John Fralich, Jacob Johnson, Lewis Fretz and Martin Fralich of Fredericksburg and by Nicholas and Abraham Amey of Ernestown.

Candidate Francis Henry Guenther arrived early in the year 1826 and served a fruitful ministry of five years. In response to a letter from the congregations stating their satisfaction with the services

rendered by Guenther and requesting his ordination, the Ministerium of New York ordained him at this meeting in 1826.³⁶ It was during Guenther's pastorate, in 1828, that the congregation was organized at Mohawk Bay. An attempt was made to build a church at that settlement, but the building was not completed. During this pastorate 112 children were baptized, including two children born to the pastor and his wife, and 95 marriages were performed. Guenther resigned in 1831 because of ill-health, served a small congregation near Rochester, N.Y., and subsequently, in 1833, founded St. John's Lutheran Church, Buffalo, N.Y., which congregation he served for twenty-four years.

Thomas Kilmer succeeded Guenther. He was ordained by the Hartwick Synod in 1831 and served for one year a temporary pastorate in Dundas County, during the absence of Pastor Hayunga. In January, 1832, Kilmer assumed charge of the congregations in Lennox County. Unfortunately for the parish, he was responsible for undoing much of the good work accomplished by Guenther. Serious charges against Kilmer were forwarded to the Hartwick Synod, which upon investigation were found to be true. In charity we omit the details. He was compelled to resign in 1834.³⁷

Philip Wieting, pastor of Hartwick Synod congregations in Sharon and Schoharie, N.Y., while serving as a travelling missionary, 1834-1835, visited this field. Pastor Ottman of the same synod served them occasionally. At that time, 1837, the Frankean Synod of the Lutheran Church was organized of which Wieting was one of the founders. The Bay of Quinte Lutherans addressed a letter to this new synod requesting that a pastor be sent to them.³⁸

In rapid succession men of the Frankean Synod came and went,³⁹ S. A. LaDow, 1839; William Macune, 1840; Chauncey Francisco, 1842; Stephen W. Champlin, 1843; Thomas Plato, 1847. The Frankean Synod was known for its extreme revivalism. It is therefore no surprise to learn that several of these pastors left the Lutheran Church and joined the Methodists. During these ten or twelve years they sent in glowing reports of revival meetings, new churches established at Bath, one in the sixth concession of Ernestown, and two more in the village of Camden East and Newber. Strange to say, the statistics of membership showed little or no increase and the congregations disappear from the synodical roll after 1845.

Meagre information indicates that a Lutheran congregation existed in or near Tweed, a few miles north of the Bay of Quinte. Dr. J. H. Reble, when president of synod, stopped at a tourist lodge near Actinolite. There he saw a church bell which the owner of the lodge declared had been used in a Lutheran church in that area in the previous century.

Thus, due to lack of ministers well founded in the Lutheran faith and doctrine, many a promising field was lost to the Church. Let those who complain today over the burden of supporting Canadian Lutheran colleges and seminaries read these accounts of losses, and their complaints will die upon their lips.

DUNDAS COUNTY

In the spring of 1874, the soldiers of Sir Johnson's regiments, together with their wives and families, were conveyed to what is now the Province of Ontario. Those of the Lutheran faith were granted land in the counties of Dundas, Lennox and Addington. The usual grants of the land to those Loyalists who settled in Canada before 1792 were 3,000 acres to a captain, 2,000 acres to a subaltern, 200 acres to every private soldier and 200 acres to sons and daughters of Loyalists when they became of age. The Government pledged itself to support the settlers for three years. In addition to supplies given to each family, a plough and a cow were allotted to every two families, a whip-saw and a cross-cut saw to every four families and a portable cornmill to every district.

The Lutherans who landed in the County of Dundas were eager to maintain their Christian life. Lay-reading services were commenced in August, 1784. The hymns which they sang were all in the German language, the hymn book being the Marburger *Gesangbuch*. The same year a messenger was sent to Philadelphia to purchase a book of printed sermons, one of which was read each Sunday to the assembled congregation.

Four years after their settlement, they began to build a frame church on the Centre Commons of Williamsburg Township, but because of the severe weather that fall, they were not able to complete it. The work was undertaken anew in the spring of 1789 and pushed to completion under the direction of Colonel Henry Merkley, who

served as the master-builder.⁴⁰ The same year a call was extended to Rev. Samuel Schwerdfeger, who was residing near Albany, N.Y. Some of the members had heard him preach before the war. Pastor Schwerdfeger came on a temporary visit and dedicated the new church in June, 1889. It was called Zion's Lutheran Church. This church has frequently been referred to as "The first Protestant church in Upper Canada." If one understands the word church to mean congregation, then the above designation is correct, but if it is understood as referring to the edifice, the title is hardly accurate. It is certain that a Church of England edifice was erected by the Government for Joseph Brant's Indians in the year 1785, on a site near the present city of Brantford, Ontario.

*Rev. Johann Wilhelm Samuel Schwerdfeger*⁴¹ was born in Bavaria, Germany, 1729. At an early age he was left an orphan, and spent several years in the orphan's home at Neustadt. He studied theology at the University of Erlangen, but did not complete the course. At the age of twenty-four, he came to America, arriving in Maryland near the end of the year 1753. The ocean passage was made as a redemptioner, Schwerdfeger having sold himself to the captain until such time as his earnings in America should amount to the value of the ocean trip. The report of the arrival of the Lutheran theological student, who was able to speak a polished German, reached some of the members of the Lutheran congregation at York, Pa. They redeemed him from his passage debt in order that he might become their pastor. He was ordained and served the congregation until 1758, when he accepted a call to Earltown.⁴² During the pastorate there, a parsonage was built, the old log church was torn down and a new church built. Before the church was completed, Schwerdfeger went to Frederick, Maryland, where he served a pastorate of five years. In 1768, he made a trip to Europe, leaving his last will in the care of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. He returned to take charge of a church in Albany, N.Y., 1774. In connection with the work in Albany, he served also several country churches, including Gilead Church at Feilstown, Centre Brunswick.⁴³ Relinquishing charge of the Albany congregation in 1784, he confined himself, henceforth, to the country churches. Schwerdfeger was associated with John Christian Kunze and Heinrich Möller in organizing the New York Ministerium, October 23, 1786.⁴⁴

The records of Gilead Lutheran Church indicate that he served that parish until March, 1791. During the Revolutionary War he was often molested because of his sympathy toward the British. Beside his name on the official U.E. Loyalists' list is the note, "Much persecuted." It would appear from the church record at Williamsburg that Pastor Schwerdfeger came to Canada at intervals prior to 1791, and this is substantiated by the records of the Gilead congregation, wherein there is a blank in the baptismal record from May 30, 1790, to October 10, 1790. The Gilead record then continues in Schwerdfeger's handwriting until the end of February, 1791, at which time Schwerdfeger assumed his resident pastorate in Dundas County, Ontario.

Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, referring to the Morrisburg area, wrote in her diary under date of June 28, 1792:

I observed on my way hither that the wheat appeared finer than any I have seen in England, and totally free from weeds. . . . There are many Dutch and German farmers about here, whose houses and grounds have a neater and better appearance than those of any other people.⁴⁵

A letter from Richard Cartwright to J. G. Simcoe, October 12, 1792, contains the following:

In the Eastern District, the most populous part of the Province, there is no Church (of England) clergyman. They have a Presbyterian minister, formerly Chaplain to the 84th Regiment, who receives from the Government, 50 pounds per annum. They have also a Lutheran minister (Schwerdfeger) who is supported by his congregation.⁴⁶

An act was passed at the second session of the first parliament to the effect that the marriage of Protestants must be solemnized by clergymen of the Church of England. This was an affront to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who immediately petitioned for a repeal of this act. At the third session of the Second Parliament, the act was amended to include clergy of the Lutheran Church, Church of Scotland, and those of Calvinist faith.

In 1793 Zion's congregation petitioned the provincial government for one-half of the Centre Commons to be used as a Glebe. The petition was favorably received and the congregation was granted a license of occupation which implied the granting of a deed at a later date. The land was cleared, an orchard planted and a parsonage built.

Pastor Schwerdfeger served the congregation faithfully for

fourteen years. He was a true missionary, organizing Lutheran congregations at Aultsville and Iroquois. He died in 1803, at the age of seventy-four years⁴⁷ and was buried in the church cemetery. Many of his descendants are living in the County of Dundas. Of late years, an annual Schwerdfeger reunion has been held at which assembly over 300 people who trace their ancestry back to father Samuel Schwerdfeger were present.

Rev. August Frederick Meyer was the second minister who served the St. Lawrence Lutherans. In 1804, he came to Dundas County from Marysburgh, where he had ministered to the Hessian settlers. He was sent to the meeting of the Ministerium of New York with a request from the congregation that he be ordained, which request was granted. Meyer served the congregations acceptably until 1807, when he resigned to accept a call extended by the Lutheran congregation in Bern Township, Berks County, Pa.⁴⁸

Rev. John G. Weigandt (sometimes spelled Weant or Weagant or Wigandt), also from the Bay of Quinte district, where he had been serving Lutheran congregations, assumed charge of Zion's Church in 1808. For three years a harmonious relationship existed between pastor and people, then disruption followed. Being enticed by a government salary of 200 pounds sterling per year, he secretly joined the Church of England, and the troubles experienced by the Lutherans of Nova Scotia were to be repeated in Ontario.⁴⁹ In 1812, Weigandt was ordained as a Deacon by the Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Dr. Mountain. He appeared before his people as a Lutheran clergyman, but he had subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles and he endeavored to introduce the forms of the Church of England. Soon the secret scheme was known and great confusion followed. Some followed him and he raised a Church of England congregation from among the Lutherans. From then on he preached in English and German, but always read the prayers in English according to the *Book of Common Prayer*. When Weigandt was ordained a priest of the Church of England, February 24, 1814, the staunchest Lutherans would not conform. Many Lutherans refused to attend the services so long as Weigandt remained the minister and among these were his own brothers-in-law, the sons of Rev. Schwerdfeger, whose daughter he had married. They invited the Rev. Frederick Meyer to return.

In mid-winter two sleighs were sent to Berks County, Pa., to convey his goods to Dundas County. Under the leadership of Meyer, the Lutherans demanded their church and parsonage, but Weigandt refused to accede. He placed a padlock on the door and forbade anyone to enter unless they acknowledged the Thirty-nine Articles. For a time Pastor Meyer preached in homes and schoolhouses. Finally a compromise was effected. The Lutherans were given the use of the church every second Sunday, but Weigandt refused to give up the parsonage. Since the Lutherans had only a license of occupation and not a clear deed to the property, it was difficult to take any action.

For three years Meyer lived in poverty, supported meagerly by his faithful people who gave what they could. At the same time, Weigandt was living well on 200 pounds per annum. When an invitation was given to Meyer to conform to the Church of England, the temptation proved too great for him.⁵⁰ In 1817, he resigned his charge and went to Quebec to be re-ordained by the Church of England. When he returned to Upper Canada, he took charge of the congregation at Iroquois, which had been founded by Schwerdfeger, and from that time on it lost its Lutheran identity. That he was not satisfied in the Anglican fold is made clear by a letter which he addressed to the New York Ministerium, in 1819, expressing a desire to be settled in New York State. August Frederick Meyer met with an accident which hastened death. He died April 25, 1832, at the age of sixty-five years. His body lies buried in the old cemetery situated on Highway 2, one mile east of the village of Iroquois. Weigandt continued to serve as a Church of England clergyman until 1835. His remains were interred in the cemetery at Riverside. His tombstone reads thus: "In memory of John Weigandt who died November 20, 1835, aged 73 years."

As priests of the Church of England both Weigandt and Meyer ministered in the German language to a congregation in Edwardsburg, near Cardinal, Ontario.

The Methodists were also doing missionary work in Dundas County. James Croil tells the story of "The Lukewarm Lutheran."⁵¹

A Methodist meeting had been held in a certain neighbourhood, when a certain Lutheran had been stricken with a sense of his evil ways, had related his experience and was admitted to the number of the faithful. He had occasion soon after, to visit the blacksmith near by.

Vulcan was a Lutheran too. Brother A, believing that the blacksmith was not in the right way, set himself to work in earnest to convert him to the new faith. A long discussion ensued, the Methodist waxed warm and plied his adversary with arguments loud and long; the inexorable blacksmith remained as cool as a cucumber. With a sad countenance, the Methodist took leave of him, commiserating the impenitence and lack of faith of this lukewarm Lutheran. Pointing to the River St. Lawrence, there a mile wide, he said: "As for me, now that I have got religion in real earnest, my faith is so strong, that I should not fear to walk across the river, were it necessary, even as Peter walked to the Saviour on the Sea." With this exposition of his faith, he left the blacksmith to his meditations.

A few weeks after this, in the course of business, Brother A had occasion to cross the river to the American side—he had no canoe of his own, but the blacksmith was a good neighbour, and had a good canoe, which he had often borrowed before. Accordingly to the blacksmith he went, and nothing doubting, requested the loan of his canoe. Our blacksmith was a wag in his way and to the civil and neighbourly request, he replied at once and emphatically, "No sirc." The other looked at him in amazement, but began to think over in his own mind what occasion of offence he had given him. "Surely you will not refuse to lend me your canoe." "Guess so," said the smith; "what do you want it furr?" "Why, to go over the river to be sure." "What!" screamed out the blacksmith, "you want my canoe to go over the river! Didn't you tell me jest t'other day, that you had faith enough to walk right straight across that 'ere river, dry shod, without a-sinking! No sirc! I don't lend my canoe to any sech men. I want jest to see you try that 'ere caper, having great faith one day, and being a-scared the next." How the interview terminated we are not informed. No doubt, Brother A was a little more cautious in future, in representing the measure of his faith.

Dr. Strachan, Anglican Rector at York (Toronto), made a religious survey of Upper Canada, in 1815. He refers to the Anglican clergy located at Cornwall, Williamsburg (Weigandt), Augusta, Kingston, Ernestown, York and Niagara. There were then eight Anglican churches and two parsonages. The government assisted the Church of England in the erection of churches and in salaries. The following is from Dr. Strachan's report:

The sum granted as yet by Great Britain for the purpose of erecting churches amounts to £800—of this £250 was given to assist in erecting the church at York. £150 was given to each of the churches at Niagara, Kingston, and Cornwall, and £100 to the church at Augusta. The allowance given by Government of £100 per annum to each clergyman is insufficient. It is true, the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts adds its bounty of £50, making each

living £150. There are a number of itinerant clergymen belonging to the Methodists, and two or three connected with the Congregationalists in different parts of the Province, but such cannot expect the countenance of Government. . . . It does not appear expedient for Government to countenance or assist any denomination of Christians beyond the established church, except the Church of Scotland and that of Rome.⁵²

For nine years (1817-1826) there was a destructive interim for the Lutherans in Dundas County. Only occasionally were they visited by John P. Goertner, a theological student of Hartwick Seminary, who had been given a license to preach by the New York Ministerium and who did noble work as a travelling missionary in Canada.⁵³ In 1825, Rev. J. Senderling visited them for a short time, but did not accept the call.⁵⁴

Sad, indeed, was the condition of the Lutherans in Dundas County. They were without a church, drifting from their faith and distrusting any Lutheran clergyman who might come to them, lest he prove to be like Weigandt or Meyer. It was then that the Macedonian call came to Rev. Herman Hayunga,⁵⁵ who was serving as assistant professor at Hartwick College. He resigned his chair at the college and went, in 1826, to the St. Lawrence Lutherans. In September, 1827, the Riverside-Williamsburg parish united with New York Ministerium and requested that Hayunga be ordained. It is due to the efforts of this man of God that there are four Lutheran congregations in Dundas County today. Like the Apostle Paul, he had a "thorn in the flesh" (afflicted with a hernia, and blindness in one eye), but with energy and zeal and undying love for the Lutheran Church he courageously met the conditions. He labored unceasingly, visited from house to house, overcame the distrust of the people, withstood appeals and bribes from without and brought order and growth out of chaos.

Hayunga had the satisfaction of seeing immediate fruitage of his work. In one year, he had gathered together a substantial congregation at Riverside and had established a new congregation at North Williamsburg, ten miles from the mother church. This second church was built by Lutherans and Presbyterians, jointly, and was dedicated by Rev. Hayunga, June 24, 1827. A new church (St. John's) was built at Riverside in 1833 on a site donated by Conrad Frymire and situated a short distance from the first church, which was then in full control

of the Church of England, they having secured a deed for it. Rev. Hayunga contributed generously toward the erection of both of these churches. The church records indicate that he assisted out of his private funds to the extent of \$250. When it is recalled that his salary seldom exceeded \$200 per annum, the sacrifice which his gift entailed can better be understood. Hayunga recognized the need of English services. He safely brought the people through the transitional period. At first, he preached English and German alternately and toward the end of his pastorate restricted himself entirely to English. In 1837, because of ill-health, he was obliged to resign, but continued to reside in Williamsburg Township and served during vacancies and other intervals. He departed this life February 4, 1872, loved and honored by the Lutherans of Dundas County. Forty-six years he spent in the midst of the St. Lawrence Lutherans. His body lies buried in the old cemetery of St. John's Lutheran Church, Riverside.

Dr. George Hayunga, grandson of Herman Hayunga and for many years head of the Hayunga Medical Clinic in New York, supplied the following information in a letter. The facts are authentic, but the origin of the name seems somewhat fanciful.

The name was a nickname, the first so designated being Hendrick Heu Ungebrochen. He was a farmer living near Emden in Friesland. The name was given to him because he was able to grow hay that would not fall down or lodge, due to the fact that he had reconditioned his land with sufficient silica or phosphate. At that time, Friesland was a part of Holland, but Germany took it over with the city of Emden after the Battle of Waterloo.

The last Herman Hayunga living in Emden had three sons, Theofel, Bernhard and Jan. Theofel emigrated to Caracoa, an island off the coast of Venezuela, which belonged to Holland. In the course of time, he was chosen a member of the Governor's Council. Theofel then sent for his brother Bernhard. At some official function given by the Governor, Bernhard was introduced to a wealthy lady by the name of Mary Reuvenhagen. In due time they married. His wife purchased a coffee plantation in the Virgin Islands, West Indies, where they went to live. That is where Herman Hayunga (the Patriarch) was born, September 30, 1799, in Charlotte Amalie. His mother was, on the maternal side of the family, a descendant of the French family DeMey, which family had escaped from France just before St. Bartholomew's Day.

The Hayunga's were Dutch Reformed in faith, but the Reuvenhagens and DeMey's were Lutheran. Bernhard Hayunga and his wife raised their children in the Lutheran faith. Herman Hayunga attended

school in St. Thomas and was proficient in the Danish language. His mother taught him French. He also pursued his studies at Halle, Germany, and Oxford, England. In 1820, he came to the U.S.A. and accepted a position as instructor at Hartwick College. At the same time he began to study theology at Hartwick, graduating in 1825.

The dean of the seminary read five or six letters containing applications for a clergyman, beginning with a letter from the Williamsburg, Ontario, parish, which had been vacant a long time. The dean spoke feelingly of the sorrowful situation among those Lutheran refugees from the Mohawk Valley. After most of the applications were filled, he looked over the students and said: "Herman, I note that you have not chosen any one of these charges as your field of work." Herman replied, "Yes, I have made a choice. I am ready to go to Williamsburg, Ontario." Then the dean said, "May our Heavenly Father bless and prosper you and your work because there will be very little else coming to you, for these people are poor—about all the well-to-do have made other church connections." So he began his work in Williamsburg and shortly thereafter, he was married to Elizabeth Barkley, one of the young ladies of his congregation who made an ideal life partner for him.⁵⁵

Concerning the controversy between Hayunga and Weigandt over the rightful ownership of the church property, we quote the words of each, permitting Weigandt to speak first:

In the year 1808 I took charge of this congregation here. The first year my promised salary was regularly paid, but not the second and third year. I did not receive so much as the half of my salary, and the money I had received for my farm in the Bay of Quinte was nearly all spent to maintain my family which consisted at that time of seven children. I complained to my church-warden, stated that I could not subsist in this way, that I had to leave the congregation, and go to another place. Their answer was, that they did not wish that I should leave them, and that they would compel those that were in arrears with the subscription for my support, which I declined to consent to. The next Sunday, having previously consulted with the church wardens and some leaders of my congregation, I publically stated in church that, I would make application to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, and it would be probable, that I should be received by the Bishop as a minister of the Church of England. Thereunto the congregation unanimously consented. I then wrote on this subject to the Bishop, and his answer was that he had no objection, to ordain me, but at the same time requested that my congregation should also address him on this subject. This answer and request I make publick in the church; and they were willing to address the bishop, and were glad to hear that I should be received among the ministers of the Church of England, and receive a salary from Government; I told the people at the same time, that upon the supposition I did receive the usual salary as a

minister of the Church of England, I would give them free of their contribution at least of half. The address to the Bishop was then drawn, and to whomsoever of the members of my congregation in Williamsburg and Osnabruck, it was read and shown, signed it. With this address I went to Quebec, and was ordained by the Bishop Jacob of Quebec. Some time after my return home, I appointed a meeting in the church at Williamsburg. Notice of this meeting was given publick in church, and on the day when the meeting took place the Church of England was then unanimously formed.⁵⁶

Hayunga's letter follows:

The Right Honourable and Right Reverend Charles, Lord Bishop of Quebec, Quebec.

Williamsburg, 23rd Sept. 1830.

My Lord,

On reading over the within letter I find, that I have used expressions which do not sound as humble as Your Lordship ought to hear from the Lutherans of this congregation. I now beg leave to refer to it, it is this: "they (the Lutherans) are determined not to compromise in favour of the Church of England congregation or any other congregation."

I have used that expression, my Lord! because the ground, according to the pledge of our gracious government, belongs to the Lutherans: the Church and the Parsonage house, which are on that ground, have been built by the Lutherans, who, poor soldiers as they were, erected those buildings, for the use and benefit of their congregation and of him, that then was, and him that might hereafter be *their Lutheran pastor*. The Reverend J. G. Weigandt, formerly a minister of the Lutheran church, now, of the Church of England, having obtained possession of that property, and enjoyed its use and benefit as *their Lutheran Pastor*, ought according to the principals of political and christian morality, to have possessed that elevation of mind—that purity of heart, as to have publickly surrendered the whole of said property into the hands of Lutheran Trustees, at the moment that he even intended to join the Church of England. To do this was his duty. Apart from other higher considerations, my Lord! it is obvious that by this step of his, he became morally dead to the Lutherans, that is to say, all his engagements with the Lutherans, and all their engagements with him, fell at once to the ground, not only by his act, but also ever since his intention of joining the Church of England. *Then*, he morally died to the Lutherans, at least, and he could in justice, expect no favour at their hands, as far as the use and benefit of the church—the parsonage house and land are concerned.

It is true, he also had followers. But it must be remembered on the one hand that none of his consorts, (As I have been creditably informed) understood the change that was going to take place, to

reach farther than their being relieved of the privilege of granting their minister a salary out of their own means, and on the other hand, that, the number of his followers was then very small, in comparison to the number of those who remained Lutherans; and, my Lord!, the number of his followers now is still very small in comparison to the number of those who are yet Lutherans. Yes, the majority remained Lutherans and still are Lutherans to all intents and purposes. As the majority then were Lutherans, and as the majority still are Lutheran, (and the decision of that controversy, in my humble opinion, depends not so much on the question of majority as upon the question of morality) the Reverend J. G. Weigandt now of the Church of England, ought, like a man to honour the British Episcopal ordination, like a minister whose heart burns with the noble feeling of British honour and British generosity, yes, my Lord, that feeling which distinguishes the true high churchmen, the righteous members of the mighty Church of England, from others, to have possessed that elevation of mind, as publicly to have surrendered the whole of that Property into the hands of Lutheran trustees at the moment that he joined the noble Protestant Church, and to have preferred to live in a cabin rather than in the parsonage of Lutherans, without allowing them rent for its use and for the use and benefit of the land, etc. This conduct would have been within the paths of rectitude. But instead of this, his conduct in that respect has been far otherwise. He retained—and has retained—and still retains the property for his own use and benefit—as if he were still a *Lutheran Pastor* of the Lutherans. Now, as he has not possessed that purity of heart in question,

Your Lordship is now besought to be pleased to remind him earnestly to perform his duty in this respect to the poor Lutherans,

or, will the Church of England profit by such immoral conduct. *She* cannot—*She will* not profit by it; for the minds of the people will be embittered against her, if she appears to be willing to profit by such immorality. When our church etc. is taken away—it is difficult for the most meek to submit, without shedding a tear. And, Right Reverend Father as truly as the Hebrews sat and wept when they remembered Zion—so truly, do now many Lutherans here sit and weep—when they remember their Zion, and see it now stand there, so dilapidated as it is. Do, oh do, let me prevail on your Lordship to make an end to this controversy. Let not men's minds become embittered against the Church of England which has been the nursery of true christianity in already so many places of these provinces. Let the people see that men of Episcopal rank discountenance such acts of immorality as have been so publicly practised by the Revd. J. G. Weigandt in regard to this poor Lutheran congregation—I have the honour to be in deepest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's humble Sert.

HERMAN HAYUNGA, Pastor.⁵⁷

Father Hayunga was succeeded by the Reverend Simeon Dederick, who served for two years St. John's, Riverside, St. Peter's, Williamsburg, and the small congregation which had been organized by Hayunga at Osnabruck. It was a difficult political period marked by the Rebellion of 1837. Dederick's letter to the Ministerium under date of August 15, 1838, reads in part:

I have now upwards of a year ministered in holy things to our brethren of the same faith in this place. During this time, my family has endured many inconveniences and privations for the want of a parsonage. . . . My call with these people will expire the first day of March, 1839, at which time I intend to vacate these congregations. . . . I am urged to this step by a dispensation of providence (probably hernia), which interferes with the mode of travelling required of a necessity in these congregations. Travel is altogether on horseback except while sleighing lasts in the winter. . . . Whoever takes these congregations, will have a peaceable and willing people, among who, I think, is true Godliness. Their beneficence to me in addition to the salary, has been considerable.⁵⁸

Following the departure of Dederick, the trustees and elders of St. John's, Riverside, and St. Peter's, Williamsburg, again appealed to the New York Ministerium. Two paragraphs of their letter follows:

We have in this Township two congregations and two churches which are already built and furnished so far as to be comfortable even in our winters; we are under no debt on their account and are fully organized, having Trustees, Elders and Deacons, and are accustomed to worship alternately in each church every fortnight. There are about four hundred souls belonging to our congregation here, and we are as yet the leading denomination of Christians in this Township. As we anticipate neither rebellion nor outbreaks nor incursions any more of any consequence, it would be a great pity to let these congregations be decaying again or be broken up for the want of a minister for them.

We are able to make up about \$300 U.S. Currency yearly as his salary, payable partly in grain, and partly in money, if he bestows all his attention to the two congregations in this place. If he takes the small and decaying congregation in at Osnabruck he will lose here more in every point of view than he will gain there, as that congregation is from twenty to thirty miles distant from here. Although the salary is small, yet, in a few years it will be increased and living is here much cheaper than with you.⁵⁹

William N. Sharts (Shartz) took charge of the parish in 1840. Much about this man has been written recently because his was the

longest continuous pastorate at Riverside, 1840-1858, and more particularly is he given prominence because he happened to be the pastor when the parsonage was built, 1842, which parsonage has been removed to the new Upper Canada Village to be preserved along with other historic buildings. The action of St. Lawrence Seaway officials in preserving these buildings is highly commendable. However, Sharts should not be given a place equal to that of Schwerdfeger and Hayunga. Sharts rendered an acceptable service under the fatherly eye of Hayunga, who supplied the pulpit on many special occasions and during the periodic illness of Sharts.

William Sharts was licensed by the New York Ministerium, 1838, and ordained by the same synod, 1840.⁶⁰ In March, 1842, he wrote to the Ministerium stating that conditions in his parish were satisfactory but that his call had nearly expired and he might leave.⁶¹ He reconsidered and decided to accept a new call. During his pastorate, the government, recognizing the injustices of the past, granted to the Lutherans of Williamsburg Township, in 1846, a sum of \$2,000 and, in 1848, thirty-seven and one-half acres of land.⁶² At this time the silver chalice and communion plates which had been retained by the Church of England congregation were restored to the Lutherans. After leaving Riverside, we find Sharts listed at Lennox, N.Y., 1863; and Hudson, N.Y., 1864-1865. In 1868, he was admitted to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York, which synod was organized 1867. For a short period he supplied St. John's at Ancram, N.Y. In 1872 he was transferred to the Hartwick Synod.

Following the departure of Sharts the parish was divided. Hayunga and the Riverside congregation desired to remain with the New York Ministerium, but that synod could not immediately find a minister who was willing to go to Canada. St. Peter's congregation appealed to the Hartwick Synod.⁶³ A. L. Bridgeman of that synod visited the parish in the winter of 1858-1859. St. Peter's was pleased with his ministry but not so St. John's. Bridgeman was reluctant to accept a call to the one congregation since the two congregations had always been one parish. He advised them to place the matter before the president of the Hartwick Synod. When this was done, he accepted a call to St. Peter's. Hayunga then served St. John's for a few years until the arrival of J. H. Hunton, 1861.

In a letter, dated July 30, 1859, Bridgeman reports that St. Peter's church building is in a bad condition and the seats are of rough boards without any backs, but that there is a strong feeling in favor of building a new church. Being a Hartwick man, he lays stress on piety, morality and revivals. He complains that many of the people never seem to have heard of a prayer meeting and that no special efforts have been made for the conversion of sinners, and that family prayer has not been practised. However, he continues his report in a complimentary vein. "The attendance is beyond anything I have experienced since I have been in the ministry. . . . The great mass of the congregation are strongly attached to their church. They have excellent singing and there is a great deal of faithfulness in getting the children baptized."⁶⁴

A new St. John's Church was built in 1863, which gave way to the St. Lawrence Seaway development, 1958, when the present St. John's was erected at the New Riverside and the old parsonage was moved to Upper Canada Village.

The Dundas congregations have given to the church at large many able men, among them the late John Whitteker, D.D., one time professor at Chicago Lutheran Seminary; Aden McIntosh, D.D., for many years pastor of Trinity Church, Lancaster, Pa.; Hugh Whitteker, D.D., president of the Nova Scotia Synod, 1935-1957; Willis Froats, dean of Waterloo College, 1937; and the brothers, Donald and Bernhard Fetterly.

In The Settlement of Upper Canada

The U.E. Loyalists had been as strongly in favor of reforming the old colonial system as were those who espoused the Revolution, but they preferred to accomplish this by peaceful means. Naturally, upon arriving in Canada, they found the Quebec Act unsatisfactory and began to press the British Government for a more democratic act. The British authorities had learned their lesson in the loss of the American Colonies and at an early date passed the Constitutional Act, 1791, according to the terms of which Canada was divided into two provinces. Lower Canada corresponded to the present Province of Quebec, and Upper Canada embraced the major part of that territory now known as the Province of Ontario. In each of the Canadas, provision was made for a Legislative Council to be appointed for life and a lower house, the Legislative Assembly, to be elected by the people every four years.

The division into Upper and Lower Canada continued until 1841, during which time the population increased from 190,000 to 1,000,000. The increase in Upper Canada during this period was 370,000. Among these latter were many people of the Lutheran faith, whose history we shall trace in this chapter.

MARKHAM

Ten years after the settlement of the Lutherans in Dundas County, a group of Lutheran families took up residence in Markham Township, about twenty miles from the present site of Toronto. These settlers came under the leadership of William Berczy. Henry J. Morgan gives the following biographical account of the leader.

William Berczy, a name well known in Upper Canada, was born in Saxony about the year 1747-1748. His father was employed in the diplomatic corps of the German Empire, and his uncle had been for more than forty years, minister of the House of Brunswick, at the Imperial Court of Vienna. He studied at the Universities of Leipsic and Jena. He left his home, travelled to Poland, Hungary, Croatica

and the adjoining counties. From thence, he went to Italy and Switzerland, where he was married the 15th of December, 1785. After his marriage, he returned to Italy, from whence, in the year 1790, he went to London, England. Here he was engaged as agent by an association of which Sir William Plutney (afterwards Earl of Bath) was the principal, who were owners of a large tract of land in Genesee County, in the State of New York, in America, to procure people from Germany, to settle on those lands. Having procured a number of emigrants, in the year 1792, to set sail from New Hamburg with about sixty German families and after a tedious passage, landed them at Philadelphia. From thence, he was to convey them to their place of destination on the Genesee lands; but as a great part of the country which he had to go through was still uninhabited, he opened a wagon road by the aid of his people, of upward of one hundred miles in length, through the forests, and finally established them on their lands in the autumn of that year. Differences having arisen between Mr. Berczy and a Mr. Charles Williamson, the chief agent of the association, he felt himself compelled in the year 1793, to institute an action of damages against that agent, and the proprietors of the Genesee lands, which having resulted in his favor, he determined to withdraw his people and settle with them in Upper Canada, where he had learned, through the proclamation of the governor of that province, published in 1792, as well as from other sources, that advantageous offers were made to leaders of families desirous of settling there.¹

Under date of March 16, 1794, Governor Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester:

Berczy, the manager, Mr. Williamson, and the whole of Germans have shewn an inclination to emigrate into Upper Canada. I cannot but say that it would give me pleasure to see Mr. Plutney's labours fruitless and ruinous, as I consider such an application of the product of British Capital injurious to Great Britain, and under present circumstances, disloyal in its effects.²

A petition requesting one million acres of land was submitted by the company with which Berczy was associated. This petition contained the following items: Item 7. "That in case the agents should obtain such land, William Berczy shall immediately move on said land sixty families." Item 9. "That a grist and saw mill, together with a church, parsonage and doctor's house shall be built as soon as may be, at the expense of the company, the church not to exceed \$500 in value over and above the articles specified in No. 2." Item 10. "That the salary of the clergyman shall be \$350 per year for the three ensuing years."³

Following further correspondence and a personal visit, made by Berczy to Governor Simcoe, it was agreed that 64,000 acres should be granted to the company. With this understanding, he proceeded to bring in his group of immigrants.⁴

The *History of Toronto and County of York* contains the following account of their settlement:

In the face of great difficulties, they made their way to Markham. There were then no roads and no stores; supplies had to be procured from the south of the lakes;—York then was a mere hamlet. Yonge Street did not exist, though the line had been marked out. But Berczy, the leader of the expedition, was a man of indomitable energy and boundless resource. He had during his residence in the United States constructed a wagon road all the way from Philadelphia to Lake Ontario, and under his direction the immigrants cut their way through the unbroken forest, and made a wagon track from York to the southern portion of Markham, which, winding in and out among the trees, marked the beginning of Yonge Street. Over this primitive road they set out on the journey from York with their families and household effects. Their wagons were ingeniously contrived so that they could be used as boats in an emergency.⁵

The following description is given after their settlement:

From York to that lake a tier of lots of 200 acres each, is laid out on each side of this road (Yonge Street). On the east side and joining the rear of these lots is a settlement of near 100 German families, on an excellent tract of land. These Germans came on this summer, furnished with everything to make their situation comfortable and enable them to improve their land. They were supported by a company who have liberally supplied them with teams, farming utensils and provisions, sent them a clergyman of their own country and are about to build a church.⁶

The Lutheran clergyman referred to was the Rev. George Sigismund Liebig. He was given Lot 10 in the fifth concession, and later in 1796, as a result of his personal petition, 600 acres of land.⁷ From 1794-1798, his salary, paid by Berczy, was 75 pounds per annum. Liebig remained in the settlement for only a few years, and it does not appear that he did much constructive religious work. His association at that time was with the New York Ministerium.⁸ Deputy Provincial Surveyor, Justus Jones, in a report made in June, 1799, mentions Liebig as the owner of Lot 10 and adds the notation: "small hut, living near Montreal." The next trace we have of him is found in the 1805 minutes of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, where the following is

recorded: "A letter from Mr. George Liebich was read. He is a Lutheran preacher, and asked for assistance to go to the West Indies. The preachers lifted a collection among themselves for him, which amounted to \$17.75."⁹

A tradition held by the Lutherans of Markham is to the effect that during Liebich's pastorate, a church was built. This would harmonize with Item 7 of the petition referred to above; namely, "That a church, parsonage and doctor's house shall be built as soon as may be at the expense of the company, the church not to exceed \$500 in value." According to the same tradition, St. John's, Buttonville, is supposed to have been organized in 1792, two years before the Berczy immigrants arrived. This is meagerly supported by the fact that several family names such as Fierheller and Quantz appear early in the history of this congregation, which names are not found in the list of Berczy settlers.

Mr. A. J. H. Eckardt, donor of the pipe organ to Bethesda, Unionville, relates that from his grandfather he had learned that a church was built during Liebich's pastorate and later was torn down and reconstructed north of Unionville.

As opposed to this tradition, the following facts are noted. When Berczy laid out the settlement, Lot 9 (next to Liebich's lot) in the fifth concession was set aside for a church. However, no church seems to have been erected on this lot. The Deputy Provincial Surveyor, in his report of German settlers in Markham and their improvements, June, 1799, refers to Liebich but makes no reference to a church. Lot 9 was later made a Clergy Reserve. In 1818 John Henry made an application to the government for the lot, which application was refused. About 1835 the lot was granted to the Rev. V. P. Mayerhoffer.¹⁰

The Rev. G. Bassler, in his report of 1849, writes:

They were accompanied by a minister named Liebich, who, however, from all that can be learned of him, was but little interested in the spiritual well-being of the people. Subsequently they had another minister named Andreac. It does not appear that either of these men made any effort to erect a house of worship.¹¹

The Rev. Mr. Andrich (Andreac) succeeded Liebich, about the year 1800. He was a faithful shepherd, and served the congregations at Buttonville and Unionville for nearly five years. In the course of this ministry, because of persecution from a worldly minded faction, he

resigned and went to Hamilton, Ontario. After a short time, he responded to a second call from the Markham Township Lutherans. Tradition says that in 1805 he was drowned while attempting to cross a swollen stream.¹²

VAUGHAN

As early as 1798, Jacob Fischer held a land patent in Vaughan Township. Jacob Keffer also must have been in Vaughan at an early date for there is a record that he received a deed, July 23, 1799, for 200 acres of land, Lot 7, in the second concession. He bought this land from a Captain Richard Lippencott, to whom it had been granted by the Crown.¹³ Keffer had built his house by 1805. Michael, brother of Jacob Keffer, also was in Vaughan Township prior to 1806. It appears that certain leaders of the Somerset Pennsylvania immigrants came to Canada several years in advance of their relatives and friends, prepared the way, established a few homesteads and then went back to Somerset to guide a large group which arrived in 1806.

They travelled by a caravan, with four horses attached, and after four weeks of hardship, having crossed the Niagara River in a flat boat, and having cut their way through a dense forest in places, they arrived, December 22, 1806, in what is now called Toronto. Four days more and their journey was over, having reached the old homestead, Lot 12, third concession of *Vaughan*. Soon after their arrival, they established a place of worship in a school house, where Jacob Keffer filled the position of "lay reader." He also instructed the children in the catechism until a pastor was secured. The pastors who served them first came from the older German settlement in Markham Township, and they were not very satisfactory. The oldest baptismal record of the church bears date January 23, 1808. A lot of ground was deeded to the trustees of the Evangelical Lutheran Church by Jacob Keffer, August 10, 1811, but no church was erected until eight years later, probably because of the fact that the people were without a pastor.¹⁴

In January, 1819, three brothers John, Jacob and Valentine Fischer returned to Somerset County, Pa., with a view to securing the Rev. Johann Dietrich Petersen as pastor for the Vaughan-Markham parish. They were authorized to offer him a salary of \$130 per year. Petersen accepted the call and left on February 10, 1819, arriving in Vaughan Township on March 1st.

Rev. John Dietrich Petersen¹⁵ was born in Bremen, Germany,

November 23, 1756. He was united in marriage to Helen Margaret Laneman, March 1, 1781. After eight years of happy wedded life, Mrs. Petersen died, leaving her husband and two small children. One year later, he married Julianna Sophia Von Borck. In 1795, the family decided to emigrate to America, arriving at Baltimore, Md., Sunday, August 29th. Here they made their home until Good Friday, 1796, when they set out for Blueall, some forty-two miles distant. On this journey, the wagon upset, resulting in the instant death of their elder son, John H. Petersen. For three years, in which they endured much hardship, they lived near Blueall. In October, 1799, they took up residence in the County of Kleets, in an old schoolhouse, where they conducted school and the father preached on Sundays. Although but a lay preacher, he served congregations at Torquefoot, Springers, Feths Mills Creek and Fort Cumberland. In 1803, he accepted a call to Harrisburg, Pa. On June 10, 1810, he was ordained by Drs. Muhlenberg and Homuth. The same year he moved to Somerset County, Pa., from whence he was called in 1819, to the Vaughan-Markham parish in York County, Ontario. Petersen lived with the Valentine Fischers in Vaughan until September, at which time he moved to Markham Township, where he had purchased fifty acres.

As soon as Petersen arrived, plans were made in Vaughan for the erection of a log church. The cornerstone was laid July 22, 1819, and the building completed the same year. It was named Zion's Church. The following year, St. Philip's Lutheran Church was built on the Philip Eckhardt farm in the sixth concession of Markham (Unionville) and another church on the George Schultz land in the fourth concession (Buttonville). Petersen continued to minister to these churches until 1829. He and Michael Keffler could not agree. Some years later Michael Keffler gave land for the erection of St. Stephen's Anglican Church. During these years Petersen seems to have labored independent of any Lutheran synod. He was brought into contact with the New York Ministerium through the pastor who was then serving the Lutheran congregations in Lennox and Addington. An invitation to join that synod was extended, but he declined, giving as his reason his advanced age. The same year, 1829, Petersen retired to his farm. He died January 18, 1848, at the age of ninety-one years.

Vincent Philip Mayerhoffer¹⁶ was born in Raab, Hungary, in 1784.

He was educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood. During the Napoleonic wars, he acted as chaplain for the Austrian contingent. Taken prisoner, he managed to escape and return to his regiment. From 1816-1819, he had charge of the church at Klineminsten, in the diocese of Strasburg. Emigrating to the U.S.A., he came into dispute with the Jesuits, Mayerhoffer being a Franciscan. From 1822-1826 he served parishes which later became members of the Pittsburgh Synod: Saegertown (Venango); Trinity, Meadville; St. John's, Erie.¹⁷ He says:

I finally determined to join the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, and with them I remained four years. From thence, I went to Buffalo where I had to preach to four congregations, amongst them, one on the Limestone Ridges (Sherkston), in Canada. Here I began to study the English language. In the year 1829, I became acquainted with Rev. Mr. Sorrel, the Episcopal clergyman in Buffalo. . . . I was received into the Church of England in June, 1829, and sent at once as a missionary to Vaughan and Markham, where there were many German settlers. . . . These Townships I served for twenty years.

It appears that after the resignation of Pastor Petersen, the Lutherans of Markham and Vaughan sought to obtain the services of another Lutheran clergyman, but were unsuccessful. Finally, when Mayerhoffer was offered to them by the Anglicans, some kind of an agreement was entered into, either written or implied, to the effect that should he be able to keep the confidence of the people and serve the churches for the period of ten years, the property should be handed over to the Church of England. Needless to state, Mayerhoffer was successful in winning the confidence and support of a minor percentage of the membership. But the staunchest Lutherans remained true to the faith of their fathers, supported in their stand by the Lutheran pastor, Jacob Huettnen, who came to them in 1833.

After a lengthy litigation, the Lutheran title was sustained and Mayerhoffer was finally denied the use of the church buildings after he had used them for nine years and nine months. Mayerhoffer then built Anglican churches in Vaughan-Markham, retaining the name of St. Philip's for one built in Markham. It was at that time that the name of the Lutheran congregation was changed from St. Philip's to Bethesda.

The three churches again in their possession and a Lutheran pastor, Jacob Huettner, as their shepherd, we leave the history of the Markham-Vaughan parish, to resume it in a subsequent chapter of this volume.

WATERLOO

Waterloo, at one time part of the Mohawk Reservation, was among the first counties in the interior of Upper Canada to be opened for immigration. The first settlers were Samuel Betzner and Joseph Sherk. These pioneers, about the year 1800, settled along the Grand River in the vicinity of Blair and Doon. A steady flow of immigrants followed. They came from the old Keystone State and were chiefly Mennonites, with a few of the Lutheran faith. By 1825, the new settlement had developed into one of the most thriving in Upper Canada, the population being greatly augmented by European Germans. These latter were mostly tradesmen and settled in the towns and villages. Berlin (now Kitchener) became a prosperous little hamlet.

In November, 1832, Henry William Peterson,¹⁸ an influential Lutheran layman, arrived in Berlin. He was a son of the Rev. John D. Peterson, who from 1819 to 1829 served the Lutheran congregations at Markham and Vaughan. Henry William Peterson was born at Quakenbrueck, Germany, May 27, 1793, and was two years old when his parents emigrated to America. He received a good education, both secular and religious, and was especially gifted along literary lines. In 1814, he started a printing shop in Carlisle, Pa., where he published *The German Liberty Flag*, one of the first German newspapers in America. In 1824, Henry Peterson came to Canada to visit his parents and remained in this country for a short time, assisting in the publication of the *Gore Gazette* at Ancaster, Ontario. He returned to the United States, where on February 12, 1831, he was united in marriage to Mrs. Harriet Middleton Clayton Douglas, a woman of great talent. Mrs. Peterson was a sister of John M. Clayton, joint author of the Clayton-Buliver Treaty between the United States and Great Britain. After his marriage, he decided to make a permanent home in Canada, and chose the German settlement at Berlin. Under date of November 18, 1832, he wrote: "Stayed all day at Benjamin Eby's, went with him and his family to meeting or church. He prayed and preached well. He is Bishop of the Mennonite Society of

Waterloo. He is a good man." Peterson, though not a clergyman, officiated at funerals and baptisms and preached to the Lutheran people on many occasions.¹⁹ From 1833 to 1835, he kept a record book of births, baptisms and deaths, the officiants being Peterson, Mayerhoffer and Bernheim. This interesting volume also contains a protocol for the formation of a combined Lutheran and Reformed congregation.

A clergyman, in the person of *Friedrich Wilhelm Bindemann*, came to Waterloo County in 1834.²⁰ He immediately began to organize the Lutheran people of Waterloo and adjacent counties into congregations. Bindemann was a native of Germany, having been born July 1, 1790, at Coethen in Prussia. His father, August George Bindemann, was a Reformed clergyman. Friedrich Bindemann had served several years in the Prussian army as a volunteer rifleman. He came to America in 1820 to take charge of the Reformed congregation at Hanover, Pa. After fourteen years of service in the United States, Bindemann moved to Canada and settled in Berlin, on a piece of land opposite the present high school. He was not a conservative Lutheran in faith, being a liberal theologian and styled, by some, a universalist. He was a man of rugged frame, great energy and unflinching courage. In 1834, he organized St. Paul's Church at Berlin, St. Peter's congregation at Preston, Zion's Church, St. Agatha and Trinity Church, New Hamburg, besides conducting services at several other preaching stations. He travelled by foot or on horseback over almost impassable roads and through forest trails. For many years, he was the only clergyman in the district, possessing a license to perform marriages. From great distances, young people came to him to be married. At times he had from three to five weddings in one week.

It appears, from the few records kept in those days, that Henry Peterson did not acknowledge Bindemann as a Lutheran pastor and used his influence toward obtaining another clergyman who would minister to the Lutheran people. The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania appointed the Rev. John H. Bernheim to survey the field. Bernheim made his visit in 1835. His headquarters were at the home of Henry Peterson, the latter at that time having again entered into the printing business. Peterson had just completed plans

for the issuing of a newspaper, *The Canada Museum*. The printing press had been brought by oxen from Pennsylvania, and the first printing done on it was an announcement of religious services to be conducted by the Rev. J. H. Bernheim. No better account of the work done by Bernheim can be given than that contained in his own report. Because Kitchener is today the centre of Lutherism in Ontario, we present this report in detail, with only a few parts deleted.

MISSIONARY JOURNAL
of
Pastor John H. Bernheim

Much esteemed Fathers and brethren in Christ!

I transmit to you herewith the report of my mission to Upper Canada; I do it not only as an obligatory, but also as a Christian duty, thereby to promote the work of missions. May this report conduce at least somewhat to awaken a more active and general spirit in missionary matters! May many true professors of Jesus, filled with power of wisdom, be induced hereby cordially to cooperate in this labor, laying aside all trivial hesitation. . . . The 27th (July, 1835) I went to Buffalo and remained there the 28th to enable me to ascertain the road to Waterloo. Revd. Mr. Guinther is the Lutheran preacher in this place; he has a strong congregation, which at present is engaged in building a church. Revd. Guinther's exertions are praiseworthy. Through him I learned that matters were not entirely constituted in Canada as we were led to believe. A certain Bindeman is said to serve the congregation in Waterloo.

The 29th I traveled to Niagara and Lewistown. At the former place I beheld the greatest cataract in the known world. The water falls 164 feet over a perpendicular precipice. The sight is glorious and beautiful.

The 30th I departed to Hamilton, Upper Canada. Here I became acquainted with John Pinkley and Abraham Horning, two Germans of Pennsylvania, who were serviceable to my further progress.

Hence I journeyed through St. Davis, Bienville and Stoney Creek to Dundas, where I arrived the 31st. Mr. P. Bomberger, a Pennsylvanian, who has resided in Canada already thirty-one years, received me with much friendship.

On the 2nd (August, 1835) I preached at this place to about 50 or 60 persons in a school house, not without impression. The 3rd, Mr. John Pinkley conveyed me in his wagon to Waterloo township. We arrived late in the evening at Mr. H. W. Peterson's. The Lord be praised that he brought me in safety to the place of my destination! This night it was very cold and we had a hard frost. Before I continue the history of my mission, I must first describe the field of my labor and the difficulties which prevented me from cultivating it more

successfully. Berlin, a village of about 25 houses, is situated in the centre of Waterloo township and is at present my place of residence. Every township in Upper Canada has 12 square miles; so also Waterloo, in which there is preaching in three school houses. The first is in Berlin, the second at a distance of about eight miles from Berlin. The adjoining township is named Wilmot and has been lately located; it lies S.W. from Waterloo and has three principal roads, that is, roads lately opened through almost impenetrable forests, passing in the low and marshy places over a bridge of logs, the stumps of the trees which had been felled being two or three feet above the surface of the earth. On the upper road it is ten, on the middle seven and on the lower also seven miles from this place to small school houses, in which there might be preaching. Huron road is likewise S.W. of Waterloo and is 35 miles to the place generally used for religious services, the road equally as bad. Puslinch township, N.E. of Waterloo, which through Guelph is 28 miles from Waterloo and where there is preaching in the house of a German (Biber). The inhabitants of this township are chiefly Germans. The larger and wealthier part is Mennonites, the smaller and poorer part has lately emigrated from Hessen, Alsace and Württemberg.

The land is quite level and good, the soil is black and appears quite rich, but the weather is often very cold in the midst of summer, so that the hard frost destroys again what the rich soil had produced. On this ground, where the good seed of the divine word should bring forth fruit hundredfold, the greater part falls by the wayside and is trampled under foot; on the other hand, the seed of the Enemy and of infidelity grows luxuriantly. Already these eight months a certain Bindeman sows such seed, the seed of Universalism in this place. I do not think it is necessary to describe this man more minutely, for I believe his name is sufficiently known. I cannot pass unnoticed, however, that a certain "Klinkhart," who practices as Doctor of Medicine, is a faithful and active aid of Mr. Bindeman—both spread Universalism and rationalism whenever they find an opportunity. The fatal poison spreads through this corner of the earth like a cancer and consumes all piety. This then is the field to be cultivated and the difficulties to be encountered. Verily they could not be greater. I lost almost every desire and if the word of the Lord had not supported, I would have left it and returned.

On the 4th I visited several families and met the aforesaid Dr. Klinkhart, who immediately began to peddle his sentiments and religious views. I came into controversy with him, he rejects the Bible and denies the Lord.

On the 5th I went to Preston to appoint a day on which I would preach—visited several families and found that little, very little religion existed here. Bindeman has many friends here. On my return home Dr. Klinkhart addressed me on the street, 10 or 12 persons gathered around us and a controversy ensued again, in which one aided in defense of the Christian party; the rest manifested through laughter

and approbation of what spirit they were. Henceforth I sought to avoid every meeting with this man, that I might not cast pearls before the swine.

The 6th I went to Wilmot and made appointments for preaching. I also visited many families living along the road. On the middle road I met with a friendly reception and love for the Word; on the contrary on the upper road opposition and infidelity.

The 7th I sought a lost and erring Lutheran sheep, Mr. E——, and had the joy to see it return, an humble and loving sheep, that knew and followed the voice of its Shepherd. On the ninth I preached in Berlin, before a very numerous audience (Mr. Bindeman was likewise present) and baptized a child. The Lord was with us.

The 10th I visited the bishop of the Mennonites to ask permission to preach in their meeting houses.

The 12th I traveled through Guelph to Puslinch township, 28 miles from Berlin and preached in the evening to about 30 hearers. Here, too, the seed of infidelity has been scattered by Bindeman. The howling of wolves who exist here in abundance, robbed me of my rest at night.

The 13th a violent and continued rain prevented me from returning to Berlin. I remained over night with a Mennonite, W. Bretz. The 14th I returned to Berlin. The 16th Mr. Trompf of Wilmot township promised to send me a horse to enable me to preach there today, but none came; I went part of the way on foot and the remainder I was conveyed in a wagon by Mr. Bauer. The road being so bad, the riding is very fatiguing. The meeting consisted of nearly 200 persons, and the emotion was great. Oh that the word may not have returned empty. In the afternoon I designed to preach at the upper road but could not, the distance being too great and I unable to procure a horse—I therefore returned.

The 19th I preached in Berlin to 30 hearers. The continued rain, storm and cold hindered me in my missionary labor.

The 23rd I preached in the morning in Berlin to 60 or 70 hearers and in the afternoon eight miles distant. But eight persons assembled, Bindeman having preached in the morning and excited the people against me. On account of the harvest I could not attend to the appointed religious services, the inhabitants were more concerned about gathering material than spiritual things. During the week I imparted religious instruction at home and in private dwellings. On the 30th I intended to preach in Preston in the morning, but through the instigation of Bindeman I received the following lines:

Mr. John H. Bernheim is desired not to trouble himself to preach next Sunday, the 30th, in Preston, because the congregation does not wish to hear him.

The Vestry,
HENRY ALLEMANG
JOHN SPECHT
JACOB ROOS.

Preston, August 24, 1835.

In conformity with this notice I did not go to Preston, I preached in Berlin, where sufficient proofs were manifested that the word was not preached in vain to the 30 or 40 hearers. About 20 Germans had collected at the tavern during divine worship; they became drunk and made much noise till midnight. It appears that Satan goes against me with violence, but I have a protector who is infinitely more powerful than he, and on His gracious and blessed hand, through which I have been so often delivered, I will still trust. I hope the Lord will fulfil Psalm 91, 8 also in this instance, and that the issue will be glorious. In this month it was often very cold and we had much rain.

September

On the first I delivered a funeral sermon in Wilmot, on the lower road, ten miles from Berlin.

On the second I baptized three children.

On the third the Revd. Mr. Beltrige, preacher of the Episcopal church, arrived here, sent by the bishop, to investigate the matter between Bindeman and Meierhoeffer. He told the people that Bindeman had not been sent by the bishop, on the contrary, the bishop had authorized him (Beltrige) to make known that Bindeman was a Universalist and an immoral man. He lamented that nothing could be done at present, because the blinded people clung too much to Bindeman and were themselves wicked; he returned again today.

On the fourth I visited several miles from here.

On the fifth I hastened to Puslinch 30 miles from here to preach there on the morrow.

The sixth about 40 persons assembled in the house of Mr. Biber to hear the sermon; a general emotion existed among them. These people are very poor, they said they were always afraid when Bindeman came and they had to pay for the sermon. "Although we love to hear a sermon we must nevertheless confess that Bindeman's preaching makes us careless." I had promised to preach in the afternoon, 18 miles from here, at the house of a Mennonite, S. Eby, but the continued violent rain prevented me. I remained here and preached again, which was received with much gratitude and joy. Baptized a child born today.

The ninth we had very cold weather and a hard frost. The 11th and 12th it rained very fast and without intermission, so that unfortunately I could not, according to my wish and promise, go to Huron Street, especially as the distance was great and the road toilsome and no horse to be had.

The 15th I preached in Wilmot, on the lower road, to 20 hearers and baptized four children.

The 16th I visited the sick and various families and baptized seven children.

The 17th I catechized children in the morning and in the evening

I went a mile and instructed a family in the fundamental truth of religion. The 18th I catechized children again. The 19th it rained so fast that the catechumens could not come on account of the distance.

The 20th the congregation was very numerous. First I held the preparatory services, then I preached from Acts 2: 41 and 42, confirmed nine persons (six married and three single), baptized three adults and afterwards administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; 28 communed. Deep silence, together with inward devotion and heartfelt emotion pervaded the assembly during the whole time. In general the moving of the Spirit of God and the nearness of the Lord was visible. I baptized also one child and collected alms to the amount of \$4.50; the 50 cents we appropriated to the payment of the wine used at the Sacrament. When I came to my lodging there was a girl there, who was also to have been confirmed, but came too late on account of the distance; she wept bitterly, I promised to confirm her next Sunday in Wilmot township.

The 21st I went ten miles to enable me to preach on the morrow at a school house named Wanner's.

The 22nd the audience was numerous.

The 23rd I departed to my home. The 26th I traveled to Wilmot township to preach there tomorrow.

The 27th I preached to a large congregation and not without a blessing and administered the Lord's Supper to 15 persons. A collection was taken, \$1.47, and of Heiter and Peterson, 50 cents—total \$1.97.

The 29th Mr. Blihm conveyed me in his wagon to Dundee, 36 miles from Berlin.

The 30th I remained and visited many families on whose hearts I tried to bind the one thing needful.

October

On the first Mr. Peter Bamberger brought me to Bienville, 32 miles from Dundas. Abraham Grobb, a Mennonite, received me into his house with much friendship.

The second and third I sought the Lutherans and baptized five children who were brought to the home of a Mennonite. The fourth I preached in a Mennonite meeting house to a very numerous audience and administered the Lord's Supper; 22 persons partook of it with a long entertained desire, and were strengthened in their faith and spiritual life. The fifth I journeyed to Buffalo.

Summary

During this far and expensive journey I traveled about 2,000 miles, partly on foot, the expenses amounted to \$110. I baptized: Children, 23; adults, 3;—total 26. Confirmed, 9. Communicated at the Lord's table, 65; Buried, 1. At each opportunity I endeavored to sow good seed, which I hope will not remain entirely without blessing.

Fathers! brothers! O seek with redoubled efforts to prosecute

the work of Missions, which is the work of the Lord. View it as an honor to do something for the Lord! Ever think that He has saved a great treasure, who has won a soul for Him, and especially a soul baptized in His name. Arouse, brethren, let us onward in this noble work! The angels of the Lord are desirous to see the issue thereof! and be ye assured, if we only remain faithful, the issue cannot be otherwise than glorious! The Lord crown all your undertakings with His blessing. *Amen!*²¹

Pastor Bernheim, having sown the true seed of the Word, had departed, but Bindemann, the Universalist, remained. He had no synodical connection and was a law unto himself. Until 1864, he ministered to the Lutheran people of the district. He served, for a short time, Trinity Lutheran Church, Sebastopol, which had been organized by Pastor Horn in 1832. He founded St. John's, Waterloo, in 1837, where he built the first church. The first services in Heidelberg were conducted by him. Though Berlin was his stronghold, yet he could not continue to delude all the Lutheran people of the district. The Preston congregation turned from him in 1838. The Rev. Metzger assumed charge of St. Agatha in 1840. The following year St. John's, Waterloo, refused his services. Trinity, Sebastopol, had likewise rejected him. Bindemann, however, was not easily discouraged. An undenominational church, called the Free Church, was erected in Berlin in 1842 on the site of the present Fire Hall.²² Here Bindemann gathered his congregation. Six years later he directed the building of a new church edifice on the corner of Church and Queen, being the present site of St. Paul's. Though most of the congregations which Bindemann had founded had withdrawn from his pastoral care, he continued active in the founding of others. In the early fifties, he held the first services in the schoolhouse at Conestoga, but even there he was not able to retain the congregation. As early as 1853, we find Pastor Werth in charge at that place. Finally Bindemann retained only St. Paul's congregation in Berlin and even there difficulties arose as this congregation continued to demand more of a Lutheran status. In order to retain the congregation, he was forced to make some concessions. In 1862, a large group of St. Paul's, feeling that they could no longer worship under the leadership of Bindemann, petitioned the recently organized Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada to send them a pastor and under Pastor Kaessman

of that synod organized St. Peter's Lutheran Church in November, 1862. The rugged health of Pastor Bindemann began to fail. He was afflicted with a malignant ulcer on his lower jaw which caused him to resign his charge in 1864. The Rev. F. W. Helfer was his successor. A controversy arose between Bindemann and Helfer over the right to perform marriages and the matter was made public through the pages of the *Berliner Journal*. The dispute showed Bindemann to be a rugged fighter to the end. In 1865, his affliction spread to the chest, bringing on paralysis of the lungs, which caused his death on the 29th of November of the same year. He was buried in the Mennonite Cemetery, the minister of the Swedenborgian Church having charge of the services.

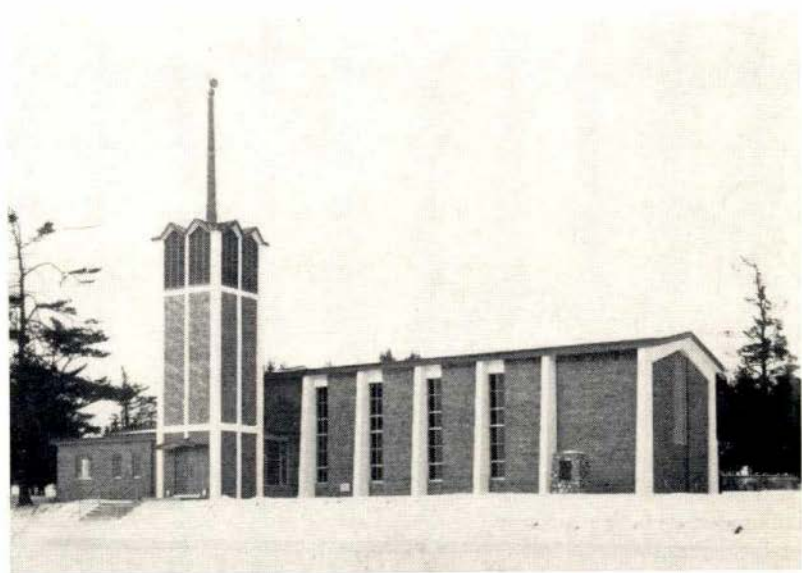
The first Kirchenbuch of *St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Preston, Ontario*, contains this note: "This congregation was organized under the guidance of Almighty God, on December 1, 1834, and may God give his heavenly blessing unto the end of time to the congregation's development and progress, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. Rev. F. W. Bindemann, preacher."²³ The first house of worship was a stone building erected by the Rudel brothers, and known as Rudel's Church. Here the Lutheran congregation worshipped for a few years. In 1837, the present corner property was purchased. Building operations were commenced, but lack of funds and the irregular ministrations of Bindemann retarded the work. The congregation, being dissatisfied with Bindemann, rejected his services and called the Rev. J. Huettner as pastor, he to reside in Preston. From September, 1838, when Huettner assumed charge, marked progress was made. The church was completed in the following year and the membership greatly increased. Failing health caused Huettner to resign in 1849. He died two years later and was buried in the church cemetery at Preston. His immediate successor, F. Hildebrandt, remained for only one year. In 1850, Jacob Hoelsche, of the Eastern district, Ohio Synod, began a ministry which caused a division in the congregation. It was at this time that the Pittsburgh Synod began to send missionaries into Canada. Pastor Emmanuel Wurster of that synod was then serving the congregations at Petersburg, Mannheim and Waterloo. He accepted a call to Preston in 1854 and served that congregation for one year, in conjunction with Waterloo. In 1855, he moved to Preston, where he ministered faithfully for another twenty-six years.



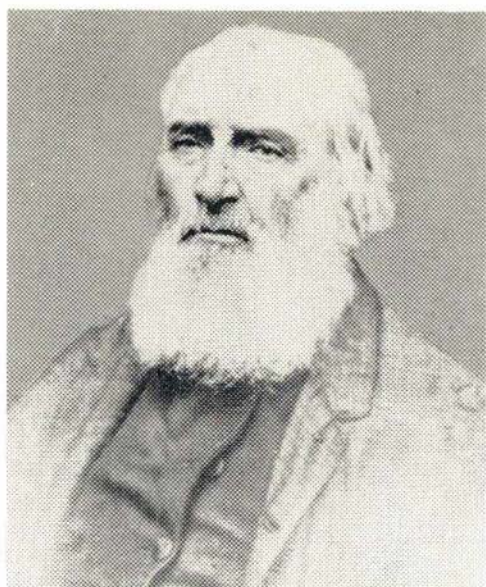
SAMUEL SCHWERDFEGER



HERMAN HAYUNGA



ST. JOHN'S, RIVERSIDE HEIGHTS



ADAM KEFFER



ZION LUTHERAN, MAPLE, ONTARIO
(Sherwood, Vaughan Twp.)
BIRTHPLACE OF CANADA SYNOD

Lutheran settlers in and around *Waterloo* were gathered together by Rev. Bindemann, the first services being held in private homes and schoolhouses.²⁴ In 1837, their numbers had become large enough to undertake the erection of a church. The ground on which the St. John's Church stood until destroyed by fire in 1959 was chosen as the site. The cornerstone was laid in the spring of 1838 and the building completed the same year. These loyal Lutheran people, who had come from Hessen, Alsace and Württemberg, were delighted with their new house of worship, but were perplexed by the strange doctrines proclaimed by Pastor Bindemann. "Through the fault of the pastor, a schism occurred and the congregation was divided into a number of parties. Because he desired to rule arbitrarily and live contrary to the clear teachings of God's Word, he was asked to resign (1841) and the church doors were closed to him. Several times, however, he forced his way into the church and held services with followers." Split into factions, a heavy debt burdening the members, and some forsaking the fold to join with other denominations, the congregation was in a pitiful condition. At that time a call was sent to the Rev. Jacob Huettnner, then serving the congregation in Preston. Huettnner added Waterloo to his parish, in 1841, and during the succeeding seven years was successful in restoring harmony and re-establishing the people in the Lutheran faith. The subsequent pastors, until the time of organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, were: F. A. Pfeiffer, 1849-1850; E. Wurster, 1851-1855; T. Huschmann, 1855-1856; J. Hoelsche, 1856-1873.

E. Wurster accompanied Diehl to Canada in June, 1851. After a short visit with Diehl he went to Hamilton by boat and then to Waterloo by stage.

The first Sunday after my arrival I preached an introductory sermon at Waterloo, and, in the afternoon of the same day, rode to Petersburg, six miles distant and held Service in the old log meeting-house.²⁵ . . . At Waterloo the congregations are large and attentive. A Sunday School has been organized and a class of 13 catechumens confirmed. In Petersburg, the cornerstone of a neat frame church, 45' by 45' in size, was laid out by the missionary on the 27th of July, and on January 18, 1852, it was solemnly consecrated with the name Emmanuel's Church. A third church in Wilmot township has been organized and taken under the care of the Missionary.²⁶

In September, 1853, Wurster relinquished the churches at New Hamburg, Petersburg and Mannheim to Diehl and confined his work to Waterloo and Preston. In 1855 he moved to Preston.

T. Huschman's pastorate, 1855-1856, was not very satisfactory. He came from the New York Ministerium and was expelled by that synod in 1856.²⁷

Jacob Hoelsche was a member of the Eastern District, Ohio Synod. While in the U.S.A. he had organized a church at West Bridgeport, Pa., 1835, and served at Freedom, Pa., 1840-1844.²⁸ He came to Preston in 1850 and to Waterloo in 1855. Hoelsche served a very faithful pastorate at Waterloo and added Bridgeport to his charge in 1861. He retired, 1873, but continued to live in Waterloo until his death, 1880, where he lies buried in Mt. Hope cemetery.

Germans from Hessa and the Rhineland settled in the vicinity of *New Hamburg* in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They were gathered into a congregation by the Rev. F. W. Bindemann. The exact date of the organization of the congregation was not recorded, but the first baptism is dated December 17, 1834. Following Bindemann, T. Frank served the congregation until 1841, when he accepted a call to Sebringville. The first resident pastor was Rev. Wendlin Schuler, who officiated 1841-1852 and directed the erection of the first church, 1851. In 1853, Missionary Charles F. Diehl, of Vaughan Township, accepted a call to the field. He dedicated the new church, December 4, 1853. The mission was then known as the Hamburg-Petersburg mission and included also the congregations at Mannheim and Roseville.²⁹ The communicants at New Hamburg numbered 130, and Petersburg 98.

Pastor Diehl encountered opposition from an intruder and impostor, resigned in 1854, and accepted a call to Salem congregation, Smicksburg, Pa. *The Missionary*, church paper, under date of February 14, 1856, carries this report. "You will regret to hear that the congregations at Petersburg and Hamburg, where C. F. Diehl was last stationed and met with such dreadful persecutions from the infidel party headed by the notorious Rudolph — have elected a certain unfortunate by the name of Frederick T. Feysel, who for years figured in the States until he was excluded from the synod to which he belonged for the sin of intemperance. How sad that they virtually

drove away a faithful minister of the Word and took this unhappy man as their pastor. These churches contain not a few sincere and truly pious members who weep over the hurt of Joseph." Within one year Feysel was dismissed. His successor was G. Reiche, from Toronto, who at first did very good work, but then fell "into the fantasies and mazes of the Swedenborgian heresy."³⁰ Ludwig H. Gerndt was in New Hamburg, 1858-1859. He came from the Gossner Mission by way of the New York Ministerium, and, as the missionary to Wilmot Township, organized St. James', New Dundee, July 4, 1859, and served St. James', Mannheim, 1859-1862.

Christian Frederick Spring became the pastor of the New Hamburg-Baden parish, 1867. Born in Württemberg, Germany, October 16, 1825, he came to America in 1854 and taught school for several years in the State of Michigan. Following a period of private study, he was ordained by the Ohio Synod. Pastor Spring served a faithful pastorate of twenty-one years in New Hamburg. In addition to New Hamburg and Baden, he served the New Dundee Church, 1866-1872. He was president of synod for two years and vice-president for four years. Christian Spring died August 1, 1888.

Succeeding Christian Spring, the parish was served by C. C. F. Maass, 1888-1895; P. B. Mueller, 1895-1903; H. F. Gruhn, 1903-1909; Conrad Zarnke, 1909-1911. During Zarnke's pastorate a church was built. Due to a difference of opinion as to the location of the new church, a group of members withdrew from Trinity to form a second Lutheran congregation.

Herman Richard Mosig served the longest pastorate. Born in Saxony, Germany, November 9, 1879, he studied at Kropp Seminary, and was ordained by the Pittsburgh Synod, 1905. Following pastorates at Port Elgin and Walkerton, he accepted a call to New Hamburg, 1917, where he served for thirty-three years.³¹ For several years he was the treasurer of the Canada Synod.

The next pastor (1951-1960) at New Hamburg was the Rev. Arthur Buehlow, graduate of Waterloo Seminary, for several terms a member of the U.L.C.A. Board of Education, and editor of the *Canada Lutheran*. The present incumbent is Norman Keffer.

St. James', Mannheim, dates back to 1846. The first church was built in 1848, and the first pastor was the Rev. F. A. Pfeiffer (or

Peiffer), who also served the congregation at Philipsburg. Pastor Wurster of the Pittsburgh Synod took charge in 1851 from which date, with the exception of the impostor Feysel (1855-1856), Mannheim has been served by the pastors of the Pittsburgh and Canada Synods.

St. Matthew's, Conestoga, was founded by Bindemann in the early fifties of the nineteenth century. Services were held in a school-house, until 1853, when under Rev. Jacob Werth, a church was built. For a short time, T. Huschman served from Waterloo and then Werth, who lived near St. Jacob's and was pastor of St. James', Elmira, became pastor for another two years, 1857-1860. Linked with the Heidelberg parish, 1860-1871, the congregation was served by Daniel Stahlschmidt. The Hon. W. D. Euler was a member of the 1888 confirmation class and later donated to the church a new altar and pulpit. The longest pastorate was that of S. J. Wittig, 1928-1947. Following him were: H. Brose, 1948-1953; G. Becker, 1954-1958; A. Kappes, 1959.³²

St. Peter's, Heidelberg, dates back to 1845, with perhaps a few services held before that date. A deed for the cemetery property and site of the first church is dated November 3, 1851. The trustees were Ludwig Foerster, Karl Stuhlmuehler and Christopher Weidenheimer. As in many other places in Waterloo County, Bindemann was the first preacher. He was succeeded, in turn, by F. V. Wunderlich, Lorenz, Jacob Werth; from 1860-1873, by Daniel Stahlschmidt, who came from the New York Ministerium, and by J. Brezing, 1873-1887.³³

A daughter congregation, St. Paul's, Erbsville, was organized, 1852, by F. A. Pfeiffer, who served for seven years, and was followed by D. Stahlschmidt and J. Brezing, who ministered to this congregation and Heidelberg for a total of twenty-seven years. The longest pastorate was that of H. Petsche, twenty years. In 1877 a new brick edifice replaced the old log church. A son of this congregation is the Rev. A. Kappes, pastor of churches in and near Milwaukee. For nearly seventy years Mrs. Sophia Doering was the organist of St. Paul's.³⁴

Zion, Philipsburg, traces its history to the year 1843, from which date it was served by Franz Adam Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer, a native of Prussia, was the founder of the congregation. He also founded the congregation at Mannheim, 1848, Erbsville, 1852, Wellesley Township,

1852, St. Paul's, Wellesley Village, 1853. From 1843-1848 he served Philipsburg and Mannheim. Pfeiffer was in charge of Tavistock and Waterloo from 1848-1851, but from 1852-1859 he confined his pastorate to Erbsville and Wellesley townships. He died in 1859.

The Philipsburg congregation is credited with bringing several New York Ministerium pastors to Ontario. The Rev. August Popplow was licensed by the New York Ministerium, 1849, and went to Philipsburg later in the same year. He was ordained in 1852.³⁵ Under his direction a church was built and dedicated, January 1, 1852. Popplow died February 17, 1854, at the age of thirty-four years. He was succeeded by another New York Ministerium candidate, Christian Herman Thompsen, who had been licensed 1853. Dr. F. W. Schmidt, of Albany, N.Y., in a letter dated May 13, 1854, wrote:

The congregation of our dear deceased brother, A. Popplow, has applied several times to me to send them a minister, but I was unable to procure one. After long consideration I have decided to send them my assistant preacher, our licentiate the Rev. C. H. Thompsen. You know that the Ministerium had placed him under my supervision during the synodical year and as my congregation is large and therefore my labors extensive it would be an advantage for me if I could keep him until the next meeting of our Ministerium. But as there is great danger that that congregation (Philipsburg), which was with our assistance organized and supported, may fall into the hands of Rationalists, I have decided to sacrifice the help of brother Thompsen for the sake of the Kingdom of God.³⁶

Thompsen was ordained 1854. While at Philipsburg he served the Tavistock congregation (1854-1856) and was the founder of St. James' congregation in Baden. Thompsen was instrumental in bringing additional pastors to Tavistock and Waterloo. In 1859 he returned to New York State where he took an active part in the work of the church and was for several years German Secretary of the Ministerium. His successor was J. F. C. Ehinger, 1859-1864.

John F. Langholz came to the Philipsburg parish in 1887 and served it for a quarter of a century. He was born April 29, 1857, in Neustadt, Holstein. From 1877-1883 he attended the seminary at Breklum and was ordained by the Canada Synod, 1883. He served the following parishes: Ladysmith, Quebec; Auburn, Warton, Philipsburg (1887-1912) and Ayton. He retired in 1928 and died March 20, 1950.³⁷

Zion, St. Agatha, was started by F. W. Bindemann. He referred to the congregation as "The First Evangelical Protestant United congregation in Wilmot on the Upper Street," and states that the congregation was founded on December 1, 1834. Early family names in the register are: Leinhard, Schneider, Forler, Schmidt, Seip, Glasser, Haus, Merklinger, and Herber. A Rev. Metzger is listed in 1840, and Rev. Helfer in 1864. Rev. J. Munzinger came in 1869 and remained for eight years. During his pastorate the congregation united with the Philipsburg congregation to form a parish. Baden was added to the parish when J. L. Kirchhofer was in charge. Recent pastorates were by S. F. Friedrichsen, G. Wuerscher, D. Stewart and L. Wiseman.

German Lutheran pioneers entered the little settlement known as Bristow's or West Woolwich (now Elmira) at the close of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. St. James' Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1850, in the first few years being called the North Woolwich Evangelical Lutheran Congregation.³⁸ It was the first organized congregation in *Elmira*. The church was constructed of logs, the pews being formed by placing slabs of logs on blocks of wood. Revs. Hildebrandt and Lorenz served short pastorates of about one year each. In 1852, on Easter Sunday, Rev. Jacob Werth accepted a call. It was about this time that the town was named *Elmira*. Werth had charge of St. James' for seven years, during which time an orderly record of ministerial acts was kept and a constitution adopted. Werth lived near St. Jacobs, from whence he also ministered to the Lutherans in Conestoga and Heidelberg. Jacob Werth was also a manufacturer of coffee extract, the profit from which supplemented his small salary. Rev. H. W. Wichman, of the Missouri Synod, was the next pastor. A split in the congregation occurred during his eighteen months' pastorate. Wichmann resigned in 1860. The Rev. C. F. A. Kaessman of the Canada Synod was his successor. J. L. Raw succeeded Kaessman and directed the building of a brick church in 1869. During the pastorate of J. Salinger a pipe organ was installed, 1875. The organ was built by one of the members, George Vogt. His son, Augustus Vogt, founder of the Mendelssohn Choir, Toronto, was the first organist. A. R. Schultz served the *Elmira* church for thirty-two years, 1879-1911. From *Elmira* he ministered to the churches at St. Jacob's, 1879-1905; Bridgeport till 1883; Lin-

wood, 1889-1899. Pastor Schultz died in 1911 and was buried in St. James' cemetery. J. Stremper succeeded Schultz, 1912-1924. The present edifice was dedicated, 1915, and English services were introduced, 1917. L. H. Kalbfleisch was the pastor, 1924-1953, during which period the debt of the church was liquidated and a new parsonage built. The Rev. Harry Baetz accepted a call to Elmira, 1953.

Rev. A. R. Schultz was born in Eylau, Prussia, Germany. From 1868-1870 he was City Missionary at Berlin. From 1870-1873 he was instructor at the Raubes Haus at Horn, a suburb of Hamburg. Schultz was also a member of the Supreme Church council of the State Church of the Kingdom of Prussia. He accepted a call from St. Peter's, at Logan, Perth County, where he labored, 1873-1879. In January, 1879, he came to Elmira, where he served until his death in 1911.³⁹

John George Stremper was born June 21, 1850, at Westheim, Württemberg. He was educated at the Mission House, Basle, Switzerland. From 1870-1873 he was a student in the Pilgermission of the same city. Pastor Stremper came to Canada and was ordained October 25, 1873. For sixty years he was a member of the Canada Synod. He served at Ellice, 1873-1878, and at the same time served the Lutherans at Stratford, Milverton and Bethlehem. From 1878-1886 he was at North Easthope, Wellesley and Linwood; Zurich, 1886-1894; East Toledo, 1894-1912; and Elmira, 1912-1925. He died in 1934.

PERTH

To the west of Waterloo, in Perth County, European Germans came shortly after the opening of the Huron Road in 1832. They were chiefly from Oberhessen from the district about Alsfeldt and Grebenau. In the *History of Perth County*, William Johnston relates that the first Christian service held in Perth County was conducted by Pastor F. A. Horn for a group of Lutherans who had settled near Sebastopol (Tavistock and Shakespeare). Little is known about Pastor Horn, except that his name appears in connection with Lutheran services at Sebringville. Following Horn, services were conducted by pastors Bindemann, Hornholz, Pfeiffer, Schuler, and Altenkirch. The church organization was rather loose in those days and it was not until 1856 that *Trinity, Tavistock*, adopted a constitution and elected a regular

church council. Nevertheless, in the early history of the congregation, there was a man appointed to lead the singing and a lay-reader who read the sermon from Luther's Postille, when a pastor was not available. The first services were held in the log homes of the pioneers. Later a log church was built and, in 1885-1886, a frame church.

Like Philipsburg, Trinity, Tavistock (Sebastopol),⁴⁰ received the attention of the New York Ministerium. The Rev. F. Meissner, pastor of Trinity, 1852-1854, organized the daughter congregation at East Zorra. His successor was Frederick Augustus Classen, licensed by the Ministerium, 1855, and ordained, 1857. A report in the year 1856 reads:

The congregation in South Easthope (Tavistock) and vicinity formerly served by Rev. Mr. Meissner, have at length obtained the Rev. Mr. Classen from Holstein. His Danish accent makes it difficult for the common people to understand him. On January first 1856 the newly erected church of which he is pastor was consecrated. He was assisted by Rev. Thompson.⁴¹

Classen returned to New York State where he served a parish at Ghendt and Hawkensville. Later he returned to Germany. The frame church was replaced in 1883 by the present brick structure. A very faithful and constructive pastorate of forty-five years was served in this parish by the Rev. Frederick Veit. His successor, the Rev. O. T. C. Stockmann, also served here for over forty years, and was for many years the Statistician of the Canada Synod, its Secretary, and active on numerous synodical committees.

Rev. Frederick Veit, D.D., died in Kitchener, Ontario, January 13, 1927, at the age of nearly eighty-two years. He was born February 16, 1845, at Michelbach, Württemberg, Germany. He studied theology in Philadelphia, Pa. (1869-1872), and was ordained in May, 1872, by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In the same year he assumed the pastorate of Trinity Lutheran Church in the Township of Sebastopol, which congregation he served for forty-five years till he retired in 1917. From Sebastopol he served St. Matthew's at East Zorra for thirty-six years. Dr. Veit was president of the Canada Synod, 1882-1884 and 1888-1891. In 1888 he organized Trinity Lutheran Church, Winnipeg. He was a staunch supporter of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary through which institution he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1926.⁴²

The Canada Company, formed in 1824, under the direction of John Galt, purchased from the Crown 1,000,000 acres of land known as the Huron tract, which they disposed of to settlers on easy terms. The County of Perth formed a part of this tract. Into this district came Andrew Seebach and his family in 1829. He settled in what later became known as Seebach's Hill, near Sebringville. He was the original Lutheran settler, to be followed in 1832 and 1833 by groups of his countrymen who were of the Lutheran faith. Lutheran services were started in 1835, Andrew Seebach donating the land, which is the site of the present church. A church edifice was erected, but because some members did not like the site, another church was built in Downie, by the minority group.⁴³

The first pastor of St. John's, Sebringville, was the Rev. Frederick August Horn. He served the congregation until 1840. The next pastor was Theodore Frank, who remained but a few years.

The *Rev. August Kelterborn* came in 1845. He was the son of a wealthy and prominent family in Germany. His father, desiring that he should follow a merchant's career, made possible for him an excellent education. But the son, feeling the higher calling of the church, though the response practically meant being disowned, decided to leave for America as a missionary. When he and his wife arrived in New York, he, being an excellent musician, was offered a lucrative secular position. This he declined and proceeded to Sebringville, Ontario, where he served St. John's congregation until his death. In responding to a sick call, his horse fell through the honeycombed ice, Kelterborn being thoroughly drenched in the icy water. He continued on the journey, made the call and returned home. As a result of this experience, he contracted a severe illness, to which he succumbed in 1853.

Kelterborn's immediate successor was a worthless character known as the "Luckless Schawm." This man was soon compelled to resign. The Pittsburgh Synod then took an interest in this field, sending to them the Rev. F. W. Tuerck. A brick parsonage was built and congregations were founded in Mitchell Valley and in Logan Township. Unfortunately, Tuerck embraced the heresy of the Swedenborgians and, in 1857, the congregation and synod demanded his resignation.⁴⁴

The Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod provided another

man, the *Rev. John Adam Hengerer*.⁴⁵ He was born September 22, 1808, in Württemberg, Germany, came to the Pittsburgh Synod, 1849, and to Sebringville, 1857. Hengerer ushered in a new day for the congregation by a faithful and exemplary pastorate of fourteen years. During his pastorate in August, 1857, he organized a church four miles from Sebringville. In 1862, the white frame church at Sebringville was erected, wherein the congregation worshipped until 1927. The congregation joined the Canada Synod and remained a member of that Synod until 1872, when Rev. H. Succop of the Missouri Synod was called as pastor. Hengerer dedicated a combined school and church in Logan, September 12, 1858. He organized Zion congregation in Stratford, 1859, and served there also until 1871, when he returned to the U.S.A., to take charge of a congregation at Blossom, Erie County, N.Y. Later he returned to Fullerton, near Sebringville, where he died, April 24, 1881.

WELLAND

Among the U.E. Loyalists who settled in what is now Welland County, there were a few Lutheran families, but they did not settle in sufficient numbers in any one locality to enable them to establish a congregation. Most of these were lost to the church, but some remained faithful, their descendants' names appearing on the records of the first Lutheran churches founded in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Snyder, named after the Lutheran pastor, Rev. T. Snyder, was first known by the name New Germany and sometimes referred to as Black Creek. It is situated about one mile from Steenville on the southern border of Willoughby Township and partly within the Township of Bertie. In 1817, the entire Township of Willoughby contained only sixty-three inhabited houses, one school and no church. From 1825-1835, groups of people from Alsace and neighboring districts of Germany settled in these townships. They came by way of New York, proceeding by tedious trip in flat-bottomed boats, drawn by horses and oxen, through the Barge Canal to Buffalo. From thence, they crossed the Niagara River, settling in Bertie and Willoughby townships, in Sherkston and other districts of the Niagara Peninsula.⁴⁶ These immigrants were of the Lutheran and Reformed faith. The Rev. V. P.

Mayerhoffer, German Reformed and formerly a Roman Catholic priest, ministered to them occasionally.⁴⁷ In 1834, St. John's Evangelical Congregation was organized under Pastor John Keller, who also served the Lutherans at Sherkston, 1835-1837. Whether Keller was from a Lutheran Synod or from the Evangelical Synod, we have not been able to ascertain. In view of the fact that the first church, in Buffalo, of the Evangelical Synod was organized 1835, it seems probable that Keller belonged to that group. A log church was built at the Sodom Road in New Germany and, following Keller's pastorate, this church was served by pastors of the Evangelical Synod who resided in Buffalo.

The congregation had within its membership many Lutherans, among them one Michael Kronmueller, the writer's great-grandfather, on whose farm the cemetery was situated. When a Lutheran church was organized, in 1840, at Gas Line in Humberstone Township, many of the Lutheran people of Snyder decided to make the journey of ten miles to attend services at that place. However, a percentage of those who continued to worship at St. John's, New Germany, remained favorable to the Lutheran confessions, and twenty-four years later, 1864, called a Lutheran pastor, the Rev. J. Muenzinger of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada. For three years he served this congregation, together with St. Paul's Lutheran congregation, Chippawa, which he organized. Difficulties, as was to be expected, developed at New Germany. Forty Lutheran families withdrew from the old church and, under Pastor Muenzinger, organized St. John's Evangelical Lutheran congregation. A Lutheran church was built and dedicated January 19, 1868.⁴⁸ Heinrich C. Kähler was the pastor, 1868-1874, and F. C. Ehinger, 1874-1877. Ehinger founded St. Peter's, Bertie Township, 1875, and St. Matthew's, Welland, 1876. His successors were: A. Stein, 1878-1880; L. H. Meyer, 1880-1883; T. Snyder, 1883-1888; J. Badke, 1889-1904. St. John's, Snyder, was the mother church where most of these pastors resided, and from there served the neighboring Lutheran churches. Since 1904 this congregation has been served by pastors of the Missouri Synod.

The first truly Lutheran church in Welland County was organized at Gas Line, Humberstone Township, about the year 1840. Lutherans in this vicinity had been served by transient preachers, but in 1840 they

petitioned Rev. J. Grabau of Buffalo, N.Y., to furnish them with services. Later they called him as their pastor. Grabau was one of the founders of the Buffalo Synod, which synod was familiarly known in the early days as the Grabau Synod. The congregation covered a wide territory. Residents of New Germany and Petersburg (later Stonebridge, Humberstone, Port Colborne) walked long distances to attend the services at St. John's, Humberstone Township.⁴⁹ The congregation continued with the Buffalo Synod for several years, the early pastors being Revs. Grabau, Kuehn, Eppling, Brandt, Gross and Koch. The last named, the Rev. H. Koch, was the first resident Missouri Synod pastor. He was installed February 28, 1869.

Heinrich C. Kähler was born November 14, 1813, in Wandsbeck, Germany. He studied at Kiel and came to the U.S.A., 1849, where he served congregations in Pennsylvania; Freedom and Ingomar, 1851-1861.⁵⁰ Kähler came to Ontario, 1862, where he served at Tavistock (Sebastopol) for three years. The next four years he was at St. John's, Montreal, and then to Black Creek, Welland County, 1869-1874. For ten years he ministered to congregations in New York State, Rome, Gardenville and Lyons. He retired, 1884, and resided at Preston, Ontario, where he died September 28, 1895. His son, Dr. Frederick August Kähler, who spent much of his youth in Canada, graduated from McGill University, 1869. He was the pioneer of English Lutheranism in Buffalo, where he served Holy Trinity congregation for forty-three years. Holy Trinity was the mother of about a dozen English Lutheran churches. Dr. Kähler was always interested in the work of the Lutheran Church in Canada.⁵¹

The *Rev. F. C. Ehinger*⁵² was born November 14, 1829, in Württemberg, Germany, and was educated at the Basel institutions. He came to the United States to take charge of a church in Galveston, Texas. From 1859-1864 he was the pastor of the Canada Synod congregation at Philipsburg, Ontario, and in Zurich, 1865-1869. He was in charge of Normanby, 1869-1873. Ehinger was then the secretary of the Canada Synod, and was frequently absent from his parish as supply pastor in Sullivan (1872-1873) and in the Upper Ottawa (1871-1873). During this strenuous period the parsonage was built at Normanby; St. John's, Petawawa, was organized by him, and he did pioneer work across the Ottawa River at Ladysmith, Quebec.

From 1874-1877 he was at Snyder (Black Creek) in Welland County, in which county he organized St. Peter's in Bertie Township and St. Matthew's, Welland, and served about six congregations, including Humberstone (Port Colborne), Sherkston, and Chippawa. Later he ministered at Pittston and Carbondale, retiring in 1903. Ehinger was one of the founders of the Canada Synod, its secretary for seven years, and served Canada Synod parishes for forty-four years.

The *Rev. T. Snyder* was born in Kitchener (Berlin), Ontario, September 26, 1848. He taught school in Waterloo County for six years. In 1869 he was united in marriage to Louisa, daughter of the Rev. D. Stahlschmidt, and the same year enrolled at the University of Toronto. Subsequently he attended the universities of Harvard and Yale and the Union Theological Seminary in New York State, from which institution he received the degrees M.A., B.D., and Ph.D. He was ordained by the Synod of New York (1878) and accepted a call to St. John's Lutheran Church at Liverpool, near Syracuse. For a few years he was Professor of Philosophy and English Literature at Northwestern University at Watertown, Wisconsin. Ill-health caused him to resign. For a few months he served St. Peter's, Kitchener, as supply pastor (1882), and then accepted a call to Black Creek or New Germany in Welland County. In his honor the village was re-named Snyder. From Snyder he served other communities, including Humberstone and Welland. From 1888-1895 Dr. Snyder served St. Peter's at Preston, and then Niagara Falls, N.Y., along with Welland, Ontario.⁵³

Canada Conference of Pittsburgh Synod

It has been noted that, during the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of Lutheran congregations were organized in what is now the Province of Ontario. Most of these congregations had little or no connection with any synodical organization. Until 1853, not one official conference of the Lutheran Church had been formed anywhere in Canada. This despite the fact that a Lutheran congregation in Nova Scotia traced its history back to the year 1753, while the first congregation in Ontario had its origin in the year 1784. These years, in which there was neither synodical nor conference organization, were years in which much havoc was wrought in the congregations by individuals who from time to time imposed themselves on the congregations as pastors. These men may be described as clerical tramps, some of whom were discharged army officers or schoolteachers, impostors who pretended to be ordained clergymen. Others were clergymen who never reported to the synods that had licensed or ordained them. Here and there were true Lutheran shepherds who labored heroically to preserve the flock and who used their influence to bring other regularly ordained pastors into Canada.

The congregations in Markham and Vaughan townships were among those which suffered from the ministrations of such clerical impostors. The Rev. Jacob Huettner, a faithful pastor and a champion of virile Lutheranism, had brought peace and harmony out of the chaotic condition created by Mayerhoffer. But in September, 1838, Huettner resigned the parish, having accepted a call to Preston, Ontario. The next eleven years were difficult ones for the Vaughan and Markham Lutherans. Occasionally, they were served by a visiting Lutheran clergyman. Huettner returned for brief visits to perform ministerial acts. C. Altenkirch officiated at baptisms in 1843. Rev. John Nunemacher, of Saegerstown, Pa., visited them in 1845 and again in 1846. Pastor Michael Kuchler, from Erie, Pa., also performed a few ministerial acts in 1846. Nunemacher and Kuchler were members of the Eastern District, Synod of Ohio. On their advice a letter

was addressed to the Ohio Synod, 1846. The letter stated that the field had been vacant for many years and that the people were hungry for the Gospel according to Lutheran standards. They preferred a minister who could preach in English. The Rev. W. A. Fetter, then serving the New York Ministerium congregation at Lancaster, N.Y., had decided to unite with the Ohio Synod. For a short time in 1847 he ministered to the Vaughan-Markham parish but refused a call extended to him.¹

In the spring of 1849, the members of the Vaughan congregation met and delegated Father *Adam Keffer* to visit Rev. John Nunemacher in Saegerstown, Pa. Keffer, then sixty years old, was the elder surviving son of Jacob. Father Keffer walked over 250 miles to Pennsylvania. Tradition says that he tied the laces of his shoes together, hung them round his neck and started on the long walk. Rev. Nunemacher could do nothing for them at the time. He knew, however, that the Pittsburgh Synod was in session at Klecknerville, so he directed his guest to that body.

The Pittsburgh Synod was organized in the city of Pittsburgh, January 15, 1845, by eight clergymen and six laymen. At the beginning it numbered on its roll forty congregations, with a membership of 3,500. Its original field was the western section of Pennsylvania. It soon became known as the "Missionary Synod," sending missionaries to points far beyond its original boundaries. The two foremost leaders in its early history were Rev. Gottlieb Bassler and Rev. W. A. Passavant. Both the Nova Scotia Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada regard the Pittsburgh Synod as their mother synod.

An interesting story is related depicting the arrival of Keffer at Klecknerville:

In 1849 the Pittsburgh Synod met in Klecknerville, in north-western Pennsylvania. The meeting began with the communion service. As was the custom, members of the local congregation took part. But the solicitous eye of the local pastor, Henry Ziegler, noted the absence of one member about whom he was concerned. The missing member was sulking, mostly because Pastor Ziegler had taken no uncertain stand in the matter of temperance. This member ought to be visited immediately, but Pastor Ziegler's duties as host prevented his leaving the meeting.

He thought of his friend, young Pastor William Passavant, from First Church, Pittsburgh. Passavant had a way with people, and would be willing to undertake the errand.

This explains why William Passavant walked out to the end of the village that day. When he came to the house he saw an old man walking barefoot in the garden. Passavant soon discovered the old man was Adam Keffer, an elder in the Lutheran Church beyond Toronto. He was barefoot because his feet hurt. They had carried him all the way from beyond Toronto to Klecknerville.²

In an 1849 issue of *The Missionary*, a paper of the Pittsburgh Synod, Father Adam Keffer's plea and the resulting action of the Mission Committee are thus recorded:

At the meeting of the Mission Committee, during the Synod, an aged Christian, Father Adam Keffer, appeared before them in behalf of several destitute congregations in the Townships of Markham and Vaughan, near Toronto, Canada. His communication set forth the mournful state of things among these, our brethren, destitute of a pastor, and imposed upon by the most shameless impostors, who assume the name of Lutheran in order to carry on their work of deception among the unsuspecting people. . . . The earnest hope was expressed that Synod would do something effectual for their supply, ere they would finally be scattered, never more to be gathered again. The committee was deeply affected by this appeal, and after prayer, it was unanimously resolved that the request of the petitioners be taken into serious consideration. After mutual consultation, it was deemed most judicious to send someone to visit these people to ascertain their actual situation and wants, in order that the most effective measures might be adopted for their supply. Rev. G. Bassler was thereupon appointed to visit these churches at as early a day as possible and minister to them for a month or six weeks.³

Bassler was three times president of the Pittsburgh Synod and the first president of the General Council. With but a few paragraphs deleted, we insert his report:⁴

Middle Lancaster,
Sept. 4, 1849.

Dear Brother Passavant: The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, rest and abide with you.

Through the goodness of our Heavenly Father, I am again in the midst of my family and charge, and embrace the first opportunity to report to you, as Chairman of the Mission Committee, and give you an account of the Mission to Canada West, to which the Committee was pleased to appoint me.

My family, as you are already aware, did not accompany me further than to Petersburg, O., whither we went on the 23d of July, and where they remained during my absence. Thence I traveled by way of Cleveland, Buffalo, Lewiston and Toronto, to the vicinity of Thornhill, C.W., where, by the preserving care of my Heavenly Parent, I arrived on Saturday evening, the 28th of the same month; having been somewhat indisposed by the way, caused mainly, no doubt, by fatigue.

It was already after night when I arrived at our friend, Father Adam Keffer's, and they had retired for the night. When the neighbor who kindly took me to the house knocked, and Mrs. K. saw only the dim outlines of my figure she at once exclaimed "Der Pfarrer ist Komme," and in a few moments the whole family were astir, and I was made heartily welcome, and immediately felt at home; for their dialect as well as their whole manner, reminded me of our German Pennsylvania farmers.

As my letters to Mr. Keffer had miscarried, and they did not know when they might expect my arrival, or whether they should not be altogether disappointed, there had been no appointment made. However, early the next morning, whilst I was yet enjoying my comfortable rest, different members of the family were dispatched in various directions, and thus an appointment for German preaching was soon widely spread, and by 1 o'clock, P.M., there was a numerous audience gathered in the church.

It was in the midst of harvest and I was still very nervous from my indisposition, and therefore concluded to make few appointments on week days. The week, therefore, was spent in visiting some of the families residing in the township in which this church is situated. On Friday one of the brethren conveyed me to Markham, the adjoining township, where on the subsequent Lord's Day I endeavored to preach (A.M.) in German, and (P.M.) in English. The congregations, especially in the afternoon, were large, and very attentive to the Word.

On the following Thursday evening I preached in a schoolhouse. The next day (Friday) there was preaching in German in the church on the fourth concession, (the other church in Markham was on the sixth). There were few present, though they were attentive. On the Lord's Day, A.M., there were English services in the sixth, in Markham, and the same in Vaughan. Both services were well attended.

On Saturday before the last Lord's Day we had service preparatory to the Lord's Supper in the Church in Vaughan. There were two discourses, one in German and one in English. On the Lord's Day there were likewise two services, one in each language, and the Sacrament was administered with the use of the German. A little before sundown I delivered a funeral discourse in Markham township.

Upwards of thirty persons partook of the Lord's Supper. During my stay eight children were baptized. I visited most of the families who yet adhere to the Church in the two Townships, as well as some others, and had an opportunity of becoming tolerably well acquainted with the state of the church and the character of its members. The

people all seemed to hail my visit with pleasure, and many looked upon it as the dawn of a better day for the Church. Generally, the greatest attention was paid to the Word and there is reason to believe that it has not returned entirely void; there were a few at least who are seeking to secure the salvation of their souls, and I hope and pray that the great day may reveal that at least some souls were led to Jesus by means of the labors of these few weeks.

On Monday morning, after the communion (Aug. 20th) I took my leave of Canada and came the same day as far as the Falls of Niagara, where I remained until the next morning, and thus had a few hours to view this wonder of the world. Again traveling via Buffalo and Cleveland, I reached Petersburg on Thursday morning, and Zelenople on Saturday. Having thus been absent five weeks within a few days, and during the time, traveled eight or nine hundred miles.

It may yet be necessary to mention in this connection, that the church in Markham contributed for the Missionary Society, to defray my expenses \$8.18, and the church in Vaughan \$18.50, amounting to \$26.68, thus proving that they were not uninterested. May the Lord give them rich spiritual blessings for these, their temporal contributions.

The condition of these churches, while it is not hopeless by any means, is yet sad in the extreme. Some of the principal members have been drawn off by other churches. Many, especially of the young, are attached to no church, and can say, "no man careth for our souls." The youth are growing up, many of them at least, without any religious instruction, exposed to all the evil influences of a mixed society, such as that of Canada, and many of those who are still connected with the church are indifferent or discouraged. But, on the other hand, there are still about fifty members connected with the church in Vaughan, and perhaps 28 with the churches in Markham. Some of these are truly zealous for the church, and a few give evidence that they are earnestly seeking to secure the salvation of their souls.

Besides these, there are a number of young people, some of whom are anxiously awaiting an opportunity of connecting themselves with the church of their fathers. There is little doubt but that these churches in a few years at most, with the labors of an efficient and acceptable Gospel Minister, who could preach in both languages, would support their own pastor and aid in extending the Gospel to other portions of that land. They are really anxious to have a pastor of their own, and most of them would cling around him like children cling around a father. But something must be done soon, since "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." They have been so often deceived and so frequently disappointed that many are ready to give up all hope, and if something cannot be done soon the number will be so reduced that there will be no prospect of building up self-supporting churches. Perhaps some may enquire whether it can be so important that these churches should be kept in existence. It is important on account of the good that will thereby be done for these people, as many of them can only be reached and influenced and brought to the Lamb of God by our own

church; and by it this can be done by the blessing of God. They joyfully receive the message of salvation from an acknowledged Lutheran Minister, which they look upon with distrust when coming from some one else. In addition to this, as Lutherans we are morally bound to look after the scattered of our beloved Zion.

But there is still another important reason. There is a large and increasing German population composed in a great measure of nominal Lutherans about 100 miles west of Toronto, who are now led in the broad way by men who pass themselves as Lutheran ministers; one of whom is a Universalist, another a Swedenborgian, and several others drunkards and worthless characters. Many of these people have already seen the insufficiency of their mere forms. Some have united with the Albrights and other sects; others, however, stand aloof, meet among themselves, and endeavor to encourage and build one another up, and are anxious for a faithful minister to come among them to preach and administer the Sacraments. There is here a nucleus around which not only one but several churches could in a few years be formed, and in a reasonable time several charges might be built up and a sufficient number of pastors supported to form a Conference, and counsel and aid each other. The question now arises who shall be the first to give himself to this work. It is undoubtedly to some extent a work of self-denial, but it is one in which souls can be won for Jesus, the church built up and her borders enlarged. What minister able to preach the English and German, who can come well recommended, is willing to go to Markham and Vaughan? Who that can preach the German is willing to go to the region north-west of Hamilton, and labor and pray that souls may be gathered and the kingdom of Satan destroyed and that of Jesus built up?

In conclusion, may we not hope and pray that this little and first attempt of our Synodical Society to operate beyond the bounds of our Synod and country, may be blessed from on High, and that it may eventuate in the salvation of never-dying souls. God grant it for Jesus' sake. *Amen.*

G. BASSLER.

No immediate practical action on this report was taken by the Synod. Father Keffer, however, was persistent. The next year, he again made the long trip to Pittsburgh. The following is the account as recorded in *The Missionary*:

Unexpectedly, and to the surprise of everyone, when the Synod met, our venerable Father *Adam Keffer*, from beyond Toronto, in Canada West, again appeared among us. His mission was the same as last year—to procure a shepherd for the scattered flocks of our brethren in Canada. The interviews of this aged patriarch with the Synod, and his agonizing entreaties for some one to come over and help them, went to the heart of everyone, and awakened an interest

for the mission cause never before felt. When the mission committee met, and the inquiry was proposed "What shall be done for our brethren in Canada?" there was no answer, for no one knew of a suitable laborer for this difficult field, and we knelt down and wept and prayed to God who alone could send help out of Zion.

After mature deliberation, the committee unanimously resolved in humble reliance upon Almighty God, to send a laborer at the earliest possible time to our destitute brethren in the township of Markham and Vaughan, Canada, and designated a sum of money, sufficient, with the pledges of the people, for his comfortable support.⁵

The prayers of Father Keffer and the Mission Committee were soon answered. The *Rev. Charles Frederick Diehl*, born at Strasburg, Department du Bas-Rhin, France, who had been supported by the Pittsburgh Synod during his course at Gettysburg Seminary, was licensed October 16, 1850. He accepted the call to the Markham-Vaughan parish. The three churches were re-organized, and English services were introduced. At Vaughan, the log church was repaired and a parsonage built.⁶

Diehl's letters are of interest:

After a three days' delay at Erie, I was happy in being able to secure a passage on a steamer to Buffalo, and from there we started the next morning and arrived the same evening in Toronto. . . . I then started to find my place of destination, and arrived on Saturday, November 9. The following day I preached in German.

There are two rooms in the house we live in, but only one is fit to be occupied. To study in a room surrounded by three children, is a difficult matter indeed, parlor, bedroom, study—all in one, and hardly room to turn.

The field of labor is a very difficult one, and I think more might have been accomplished by sending a brother more perfect in the English language, for this is most needed in Markham Township.

In Markham we meet on the 11th (January, 1851) to elect a church council and adopt a constitution. The congregation in the fourth concession will be stronger than the one in the sixth concession where but a few members are left.⁷

In *The Missionary* of March, 1851, excerpts from the second letter are printed:

Last week I visited the city of Toronto, and find that there is material to form a small German congregation.

I have not yet heard anything from the *Rev. M.H.*—in Preston, neither had I time or means to make a journey to that part of the province. But I understand that a Lutheran minister is greatly needed in Waterloo and another in Rainham township.

What I most stand in need of just now is a horse and saddle. I lose much time in hunting or borrowing one.

In Toronto a new congregation was organized, August 9, 1851, and served by Diehl, the services being held in a Congregational church.

Diehl proved to be a good exploring missionary, the missionary president reporting in 1851:

Various journeys have likewise been undertaken by Brother Diehl into the western part of the province, one of the results of which is a call from several congregations in Wellington district for a missionary. A third labourer is also demanded, who can preach the English language fluently, and a written obligation from several persons in the Home District is in the hands of the committee.⁸

A little later *The Missionary* reports another survey by Diehl:

Rev. C. F. Diehl recently paid a visit to the numerous German settlements in the Western districts, as far as the shores of Lake Huron. . . . There are upwards of a dozen miserable vagabonds, under the garb of ministers, who are fleecing the poor dispersed flocks, or scattering them still more by their immoral and wretched lives. Many settlements are now happily vacant so that if men or means were at hand the ground might be occupied to the permanent establishment of the Church of Christ.⁹

Acting upon the findings of missionary Diehl, candidate E. Wurster was licensed and sent to Wellington district to take charge of the Waterloo, New Hamburg, and Petersburg missions. Wurster accompanied Diehl to Canada following the 1851 meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod. They started on June 10th, and journeyed by way of Cleveland, Buffalo, Toronto, and Markham. Wurster was a guest at the Diehl home for a few days. Both of them preached in Toronto on the following Sunday, and on Tuesday Wurster proceeded to Hamilton by boat, and then to Waterloo by stage.¹⁰

In September, 1853, Diehl accepted a call to the New Hamburg-Petersburg-Mannheim-Roseville parish which he served for two years.

In October of 1852, the *Rev. Jeremiah Fishburn*, a graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, took charge at Markham. He had come to the Pittsburgh Synod from the Alleghany Synod, and served Zion, Licking, Pa., 1848-1852.¹¹ On May 21, 1854, he dedicated a new church at Buttonville erected on the site of the dilapidated log church.¹² Upon the departure of Diehl from Vaughan, Fishburn added that congrega-

tion to his parish and built a new church there in 1860. He also served the congregation in Toronto, 1853-1857, and directed the building of a church on Bond Street, which was consecrated August 23, 1857. When he was not able to be present, the services in Toronto were conducted by a faithful layman, Van der Smissen.

J. Fishburn officiated at the first Lutheran service in Kleinburg, a village northwest of the Zion, Vaughan, parish. Here resided the Klein and Wurster families and their associates. In October, 1854, the people of Kleinburg signed a contract for the building of a church, the cost to be \$1,200, with much labor to be contributed. Half of the cost was subscribed at this meeting.¹³ The congregation was organized July 7, 1855, and the new church was dedicated the next day. Missionary Fishburn moved from Markham to Vaughan to become pastor of the Vaughan-Kleinburg parish, but also continued to serve the Lutherans in Markham. In all he served the parish for twenty-six years.

J. Fishburn was a church builder, planning and guiding the erection of churches at Buttonville, 1854, Kleinburg, 1855, Toronto, 1857, Vaughan, 1860, Unionville, 1862, Williamsburg, 1865, and Morrisburg, 1876. He was also an efficient administrator, serving the Canada Synod as its president for eleven years. His son, M. H. Fishburn, was pastor at Morrisburg, 1876-1882, and Williamsburg, 1882-1890. Jeremiah Fishburn returned to the U.S.A. to serve Holy Trinity, Greenville, Pa., 1879-1883.

Missionary Diehl, while pastor at Vaughan, recognized the need for a Canada Conference. He wrote to Herman Hayunga, W. Sharts, and A. Popplow, all of the New York Ministerium, and to E. Wurster and others, inviting them to a conference in Markham to be held October 1, 1852.¹⁴ Due to sickness, absence at synod, etc., all respectfully declined except J. Fishburn, who had recently arrived to take charge of Markham.

A fourth missionary of the Pittsburgh Synod, F. W. Tuerk, was sent to Seebach's Hill (Sebringville, Ontario) in 1853. The four missionaries of the above named synod felt that the time had arrived when a conference could and should be formed in Canada. Their plea was favorably received by the Pittsburgh Synod, and the following resolution was adopted:¹⁵

1. RESOLVED: That in view of the peculiar circumstances of our brethren in Canada, the fact that they are beyond the limits of the Northern Conference and the necessity of regular conference meetings in that Province, we hereby form a new conference district by the name of the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that the brethren C. F. Diehl, J. Fishburn, E. Wurster, and F. W. Tuerk and any members of this synod, who may hereafter reside in Canada, be members of this conference.

2. RESOLVED: That Brothers G. Bassler and W. A. Passavant be appointed a committee to proceed to Canada and in connection with the brethren there, to assist in carrying out the above resolution.

In fulfilment of item 2 of the above resolution, W. A. Passavant proceeded to Vaughan Township in Canada, to assist in the organization of the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod. The date was June 16-18, 1853. This was the first Lutheran Conference in the whole of Canada. Passavant's report of this first meeting is of interest:

I hasten to give you the particulars of the first ministerial organization of our Church in this Province. Owing to sickness and other causes, several brethren who were confidently expected could not be present so that our number consisted only of five ministers and delegates from several missions. After calling the Rev. G. Bassler of Pennsylvania to the chair, and appointing Rev. J. Fishburn, of Markham, C.W. (Canada West) as secretary, some time was spent in devotional exercises, after which the conference was regularly constituted as the Canada Conference of the Pittsburg Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Daily sessions were held on the 16th, 17th and 18th inst. and the Word was preached every day to solemn and attentive congregations.

I can only refer to one or two subjects which occupied a large share of the attention of the Conference. One of these was, of course, the cause of missions and the connected work of education. The large number of immigrant Germans who are rapidly filling up the Western Districts bordering on Lake Huron and Erie, demand the immediate and most earnest attention of the church, both in Canada and the United States. With the exception of some eight ministers, who are connected with different Synods, the remaining persons who officiate among them are wretched impostors. These miserable men have hitherto wasted and dispoiled the heritage of God without let or hindrance, until the church, in several important places, is almost totally and hopelessly ruined. Still there are many inviting fields where the prospects for usefulness are encouraging, and only labourers of zeal, prudence and faith are needed, to make the wilderness blossom as a rose. It is a wonder of mercy that the cause is not more hopeless

than it really is, and this, in connection with other considerations, encourages the belief that by prompt and effective action, our church in Canada may yet become a glorious church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

According to a resolution of the Ministerium, the Rev. E. Wurster, our missionary in Waterloo, Wellington District, was carefully examined, and on Sunday morning was solemnly ordained in the church in Vaughan township where the Conference was assembled. This is the first ordination which is known to have taken place in our Church in Canada. God grant that it may be but the first of many such services.

The Conference adjourned on Saturday, to meet again in Waterloo, Canada West, in the month of October, and the Lord's Day closed the religious services of the occasion. After the ordination of Brother Wurster and sermons in German and English, the Communion was administered to a large number of Communicants. It was deeply affecting to see so many aged men approach the Altar, and to think that after almost half a century of conflict, neglect, and destitution, the day of Zion's glory has at length dawned.¹⁶

The Pittsburgh Synod continued to send new missionaries into this promising field. Among those who came to Canada, between 1853 and 1861, were Gustav A. Reiche, John Adam Hengerer, 1857; Henry Hoehn, 1860; C. F. A. Kaessman, 1856; F. C. Ehinger, 1860; J. N. Muenzinger, 1860; and John Henry Hunton, 1861. Most of these men proved to be faithful Lutheran pastors. Two of them did not remain with the Lutheran Church. Reiche embraced Swedenborgianism in 1857, and Hoehn abandoned the ministry. F. W. Tuerk also accepted the heresy of the Swedenborgians in 1857, and moved to Berlin, Ontario. While there in charge of a Swedenborgian congregation, he officiated at the burial service of the Rev. F. W. Bindemann.

During the same period, other synods took an interest in the field served by the Canada Conference. The Ministerium of New York sent A. Popplow, 1849, and C. H. Thompsen, 1854, to Philipsburg; Daniel Stahlschmidt to Heidelberg, 1860; Carl F. Rechenberg to Toronto, 1857; L. H. Gerndt to New Hamburg, 1859; F. J. Meissner, 1852, and F. A. Classen to Sebastopol, 1855; G. Werner to Montreal, 1855.

For the most part friendly relations and fellowship existed between the pastors of the Pittsburgh Synod and those of the New York Ministerium. At the second meeting of the Canada Conference, held in Petersburg (changed from Waterloo to Petersburg), October, 1853,

A. Popplow, F. J. Meissner, and J. Hoelsche were present as visitors. It was agreed that in addition to the Canada Conference the Lutheran clergy would form an Evangelical Lutheran Union of Canada to meet once each year. The members were to continue in connection with their respective synods but meet at stated intervals for mutual consultation and assistance. A resolution was passed making it the duty of the ministers to supply destitute congregations with Word and Sacrament. It was agreed to hold the next meeting of the Union or Ministerial Association in July, 1854.¹⁷

Difficult problems had to be resolved by the Canada Conference. Two of the missionaries, Tuerk and Reiche, embraced the doctrines of Emmanuel Swedenborg. Disciplinary action was necessary. Here we cite the case of missionary Tuerk.¹⁸ Early in 1857 he requested that his name be stricken from the list of ministers. He was cited to appear before the meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod to answer to the charge of heresy and instructed to suspend immediately all ministerial labors. Tuerk replied that he could not attend synod due to his wife's illness, and that he could not suspend his ministerial labors until his year expired. He expressed the hope that synod would pass a just sentence on him. The conference, after wrestling with this matter, left the disciplinary action to the synod. The action was in the form of the following resolution:

Whereas F. W. Tuerk (Türk), pastor of the Churches of the Ellice Mission, C.W., has by his own confession embraced the system of E. Swedenborg, and there being no evidence of the probability of his returning to the faith of the Church.

RESOLVED: That F. W. Tuerk is hereby desposed from the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

RESOLVED: That we fervently pray Almighty God, in His infinite mercy, to open the eyes of one who has hitherto been a brother in the work of the ministry, that he may be brought back to the faith in Christ Jesus from which he has fallen.

The Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod proved to be a missionary body. During the years 1853-1861, some eighteen congregations were organized, two or three each year.

Missionary Tuerk began preaching to the Lutherans of Mitchell in 1853. Two years later he reported a church organized in that place with 25 communicant members.¹⁹ C. R. Gerndt reported three

congregations in his parish, 1862; Logan 121 families; Mitchell 15 families; Egmontsville 22 families. The first church building was erected in Mitchell, 1862, the site being along the Logan Road on the land which is now Grace Lutheran Cemetery. This frame building served the congregation for fifty-two years, until 1914, in which year a brick church was built on a corner lot at St. David's and Quebec streets. In its early history, Grace congregation was affiliated with the Lutheran churches in Logan, and was served by Canada Synod pastors. Later it accepted the ministry of Missouri Synod pastors, but continued to be served from Logan until 1900.

The German Benevolent Society of Montreal was interested in establishing a Lutheran Church. G. Lomer, E. Idler, A. Schmidt, G. Reinhardt, A. Fontane and others met to discuss this matter. Missionary Soldaus, of Buffalo, N.Y., was in Montreal for three weeks in 1853 and prepared the way for the first pastor, George Werner. St. John's congregation was organized, October 6, 1853. George Werner served here for eleven years, 1854-1865. A stone church was built on St. Dominique Street. There the German Lutherans of the city worshipped until 1907, when a new church was built at the corner of Jeanne Mance and Prince Arthur streets. In 1865, Pastor Werner returned to Germany, accepting a call to a congregation in Schleswig, Holstein. While serving in Canada, he was a member of the Ministerium of New York. Near the close of his ministry, June 29, 1864, a train carrying many immigrants ran through the open gates of the canal bridge. Fifty-two Lutheran immigrants were drowned. Pastor Werner ministered to survivors and a monument in memory of those who died was erected in Mount Royal Cemetery.²⁰

The first Lutheran services were held in Hespeler by Rev. Jacob Hoelsche, 1854. The "Old Community House," which was the birthplace of several of the Protestant congregations in Hespeler, opened its doors to the Lutheran flock. There the first service was held, and there, six years later, St. James Lutheran Church was organized by Rev. Emmanuel Wurster.²¹

In 1854, Rev. Tuerk visited the Lutheran settlement in Logan Township.²² He reported fifty members in 1855, and the following year stated to the Pittsburgh Synod: "So soon as the snow passes away, we hope to commence building in Logan Township." Tuerk's succes-

sor, J. A. Hengerer, dedicated the new building, September 12, 1858. It was used as both school and church.

Two Lutheran congregations in Logan Township have existed from the beginning of the settlement. Both groups could have formed one congregation, but from the beginning services were held in two separate schoolhouses, an arrangement which was not conducive to unity. Following the short pastorate of Rev. H. Hoehn, 1859-1860, the Rev. C. R. Gerndt served the two congregations, together with Grace congregation, Mitchell, for seven years. In 1867, two church buildings were completed, St. Peter's being dedicated August 25th, and First Lutheran, September 22nd. In the same year, the rift between the two congregations widened, and First Lutheran congregation applied to the Missouri Synod for a pastor. St. Peter's continued to be served by the Canada Synod. The longest pastorate was that of H. Weigand, 1895-1922.

The Rev. G. Reiche, who came from Toronto to New Hamburg, 1856, began at once to hold services at Plattsville, some eight miles distant from New Hamburg. There he organized a church with twenty Lutheran families.²³

Among the first settlers in Baden were Jacob and Charlotte Beck, parents of the celebrated Hydro knight, Sir Adam Beck. They and their fellow countrymen formed a Lutheran congregation in Baden in the year 1856, the first services being conducted by Rev. C. H. Thompson, then pastor at Philipsburg. The land whereon the church stands was purchased from Jacob Beck in March, 1862, for the sum of fifty dollars. One year after the congregation was organized, Adam Beck was born. He was baptized by the Lutheran pastor, and confirmed fifteen years later by Rev. J. N. Muenzinger. Sir Adam Beck in later years donated new lights to the Baden church.²⁴

In April, 1857, Rev. E. Wurster of Preston organized a church at Strasburg, consisting of thirty-five communicants.²⁵ The same year J. A. Hengerer reported to synod that he had gathered a congregation at Wartburg, in Ellice Township, four miles from Schringville. The congregation was granted one acre of land by the government.²⁶

The following year, Hengerer made a survey of the town of Stratford and gathered together twenty-five people of the Lutheran faith, who in 1859 organized themselves into a congregation with the name First German Evangelical Lutheran Church of Stratford (now

Zion).²⁷ For four years, worship was conducted in the town hall, the first church being built on Brunswick Street, in 1863.

The history of St. Paul's, Hamilton, Ontario, also dates back to March, 1858, when the first service was held in the Congregationalist Hall by Rev. C. F. Rechenberg of Toronto. Plans for this service were made a few weeks earlier when Missionary Berkemeier of the Pittsburgh Synod visited that city. The congregation was organized, April 8, 1858, and under the guidance of Rev. Adolf Boettger a church was built in 1862. This congregation remained a mission of the Canada Synod until 1874, in which year it became self-supporting.

After working in the Gossner Mission, India, for ten years L. H. Gerndt came to Canada, 1858. He was stationed at New Hamburg and from there organized, in October, 1859, St. James' Lutheran Church at New Dundee.²⁸ The first church was dedicated, October 18, 1863. In the same year the Rev. Raw arrived as the first resident pastor. St. James' was part of the New Hamburg parish, 1866-1872, served by C. Spring. In 1872 the New Dundee, Princeton, Plattsville, Strassburg parish was formed, all served from New Dundee. From 1872-1875 the Rev. Simon Poppen resided in New Dundee. There, on October 14, 1874, a son, Emmanuel, was born, who in 1931 became full-time president of the Ohio District of the American Lutheran Church; and in 1937 the president of that large Lutheran body. Since 1920 this congregation has been served by Waterloo Seminary graduates: F. L. Howald, Garnet Schultz, Wm. Nolting, Walter Goos, A. L. Conrad, H. Schmieder, D. J. Glebe, and Helmut Saabas. A new church was built and dedicated, July 12, 1953.

The Canada Company, formed by John Galt, 1824, acquired a compact area of 1,000,000 acres near Lake Huron, known as the Huron Tract. Immediately this company began to bring in settlers to whom they sold the land. By an Act of Parliament, passed May 30, 1849, the district of Huron was divided into three counties, Huron, Perth, and Bruce. In these counties, as well as into the neighboring counties, a few Lutheran settlers had taken up homesteads by the middle of the nineteenth century, and were followed by others of the same faith in the early fifties. Protestants from Mecklenburg and Northern Germany settled in the easterly part of Brant Township, Bruce County. In the same county, in the Township of Carrick, a large group from Germany

and Alsace settled in the vicinity of Formosa, 1853-1854. Many of these were Roman Catholics, but a fair percentage were Lutheran, especially those who took up homesteads in or about the eleventh concession.²⁹ About the same time, Lutheran settlements were made in Normanby, a township in the extreme southwestern corner of the County of Grey. The Germans chose the better part of the township, the western and southwestern part. Sullivan Township and Grey County also received an influx of Lutheran settlers in the early fifties.³⁰

St. James', Normanby, dates back to the autumn of 1858.³¹ F. W. Wunderlich held services in a school near Lauderbach. It was organized by Christian Behrens, August 15, 1864. St. Paul's Lutheran congregation in Normanby Township was organized, September, 1859, by C. F. W. Rechenberg. St. John's in Carrick Township, and First St. Peter's, Brant Township, were organized in 1860, by the Rev. L. H. Gerndt, of Mannheim, who was then active as an exploring missionary of the Saugeen district.³² Besides conducting occasional services in St. Paul's Church and directing the building of a log church there, Gerndt gathered together groups of Lutheran people in the counties of Bruce and Grey and served them occasionally until a resident pastor, Christian Behrens, was installed in the late fall of 1861.

Canada Conference missionaries visited Hay Township as early as 1854.³³ In Zurich, a combined congregation of Lutherans and Reformed was founded, services being conducted by L. H. Gerndt and W. A. Hengerer. The first church was dedicated in 1860, soon after the arrival of J. N. Muenzinger.³⁴ About the same time, a branch congregation of members living near Dashwood was organized, which about 1871 joined the Missouri Synod. Under Pastor Ehinger (1865-1867) St. Peter's congregation in Zurich became entirely Lutheran, the Reformed membership withdrawing. During Muenzinger's second pastorate at Zurich (1877-1883) the second church building was erected in 1878. Other ministers were: J. Strempler, 1887-1894; E. Schuelke, 1895-1907; C. C. J. Maass, 1908-1913; W. C. Mueller, 1913-1915; H. Rembe, 1916-1928; E. Tuerkheim, 1928-1942; E. Heimrich, 1942-1954; O. Winter, 1955-1959; Paul Fischer, 1959-. Sons of this congregation now serving in the Gospel ministry are: Ferdinand Howald, Lloyd Kalbfleisch, and Albert Datars.

J. N. Muenzinger resided in Monroe, Michigan, 1852-1860.

He was licensed by the Pittsburgh Synod, 1860, and assigned to the Huron Mission (Zurich), which mission he served until 1864, and was one of the founders of the Canada Synod. He directed the building of a frame church which was dedicated August 12, 1860. A sister congregation was organized in Dashwood, which was affiliated with St. Peter's for about ten years. From 1864-1868 Muenzinger was at Black Creek, Welland County, where he supervised the building of St. John's Lutheran Church, and organized St. Paul's at Chippawa. The next eight years, until 1807, he was at Philipsburg, from whence he organized St. James', North Easthope, 1868; St. Peter's, Gadshill, 1869; and St. Paul's in Wellesley, 1876. Muenzinger's second term in Zurich was 1877-1882. He had been there when the first church was built, 1878. From Zurich, he went to St. Peter's, Sullivan, 1882-1891, and from there organized a sister congregation, St. James', Williamsford, 1885.

Besides the above-named congregations, organized during the years of the Canada Conference, a congregation was formed at Bridgeport. The congregation had its beginning in the fifties, but was re-organized by Jacob Hoelsche in 1861. From Preston, Emmanuel Wurster organized a congregation in Schantz, 1860, and built a church there in 1862.

The opening of new missions in Canada demanded considerable financial support. In this, the Pittsburgh Synod was aided by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Passavant had visited the Ministerium in 1852, and made an earnest plea for assistance in the work in Canada and Texas. The Ministerium responded with a grant of \$400, about half of which was designated for Canada.³⁵ In 1860, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania granted \$300. This financial support was continued for several years.³⁶

The *Minute Book* of the Canada Conference of the Canada Synod, preserved in the Archives of the Canada Synod, is very much incomplete. It begins with the meeting in New Hamburg, February 2-3, 1859. Apparently, the earlier Minutes, 1853-1858, have been lost. It has, therefore, been necessary to glean much of the information from Pittsburgh Synod sources: The Canada Conference Minutes from 1859-1861 indicate a constant wrestling with missionary problems, a serious lack of funds and workers. Matters pertaining to the discipline of pastors and congregations are numerous.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada:

PART I

On February 2, 1860, at a meeting of the Canada Conference in Preston, Ontario, the first action was taken leading to the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada. Following hasty consideration it was resolved to organize an independent Canada Synod and that the officers of conference should act as officers of the synod until the next meeting. The secretary was instructed to open the necessary correspondence with the mother synod to assure her consent and future co-operation in the mission work in Canada. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution to be presented to the next convention.¹

At Sebastopol on April 12th, the above action was reconsidered. It was decided to proceed in a more orderly manner. A petition was sent to the Pittsburgh Synod requesting that permission be granted to organize a synod in Canada; that the Pittsburgh Synod assist the Canada Conference in this undertaking by delegating a committee of pastors and laymen who should assist in transforming the conference into a synod. All this was on condition that the financial support of the Canadian missions be continued. This petition was presented to a committee which brought the following report to the 1860 meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod:

The committee on the petition of the brethren of the Canada Conference praying Synod for an honorable dismissal and for her maternal blessing in order to form themselves into a Synod would most respectfully report: The affectionate mother who has watched over the infancy and childhood of a beloved daughter with tears and smiles sees her about to be united to the man of her choice. But as the object of her love and solicitude is still young and inexperienced, her maternal bosom is filled with many anxieties, lest she may not be able to manage her domestic affairs with such prudence and discretion as to make her family happy and comfortable.

Thus we have watched over and sustained our mission in Canada, as we believe, through infancy and childhood and we rejoice to see them now grown to such maturity that we hope soon to see them formed in a flourishing synod of their own.

But whilst we acknowledge the force of the reason and arguments of the petitioners, and perceive the importance of having a Synod on the ground, we have yet many fears and anxieties and are not entirely satisfied that the full time has yet come. In this state we hope and yet of deep anxiety in order that nothing be done hastily, be it:

RESOLVED: That the President of Synod, with such other person or persons as Synod may appoint, be directed to attend the next Canada Conference in Vaughan and fully investigate the necessity and expedience of the formation of a Canada Synod at this time.

RESOLVED: That if in their estimation the time has come, they be empowered to grant the necessary permission and also letters of dismissal to the brethren who desire to enter the next organization.

RESOLVED: That our interest in this field be undiminished, and that we will not withdraw our support from these infant and yet struggling churches.

RESOLVED: finally: That if a Synod should be formed, it is our desire, that some plan may be adopted, by which we may stand in regular correspondence in order that the bond of affection which now binds us may never be broken.²

Gottlieb Bassler and Daniel Garver met with the Canada Conference at Sebastopol in February, 1861, and as a result of the deliberations presented the following Resolutions to the mother synod:

1. RESOLVED: That the members of the Canada Conference are hereby authorized to form themselves into a Synod and that they shall be honourably dismissed from this synod as soon as such organization is effected.

2. RESOLVED: That the following regulations are adopted by this Synod and proposed to the future Canada Synod.

(1) That a delegation be appointed annually by each Synod consisting of one or two persons who shall attend the sessions of the other, and shall have seat and vote.

(2) This Synod through its Mission committee will continue efficiently to aid the Canada Synod in its mission operations both with advice and money.

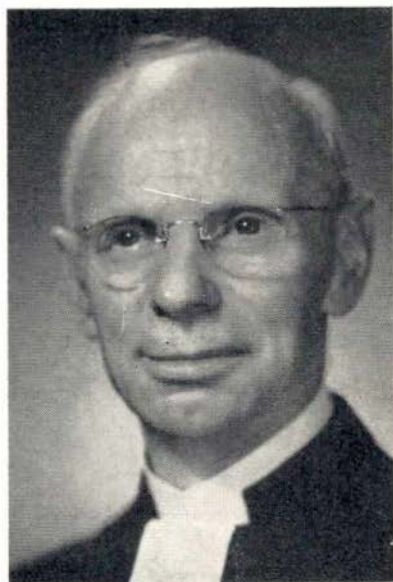
(3) Such a member of the Canada delegation as may be designed by Synod shall have a seat in our Mission committee provided the same courtesy is extended to us, and we thus have a guarantee that our wishes will be respected in the appropriations made to the Canada Missions from our Missionary treasury.

(4) That one member of the delegation from this Synod shall be placed on the examining committee of the Canada Synod.³

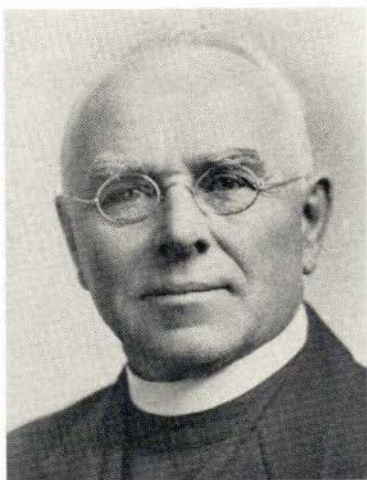
The organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada took place at the second session of the conference meeting in Zion's congregation, Vaughan Township, July 18-22, 1861. The pastors



EMIL HOFFMANN
President of Synod for 17 years.



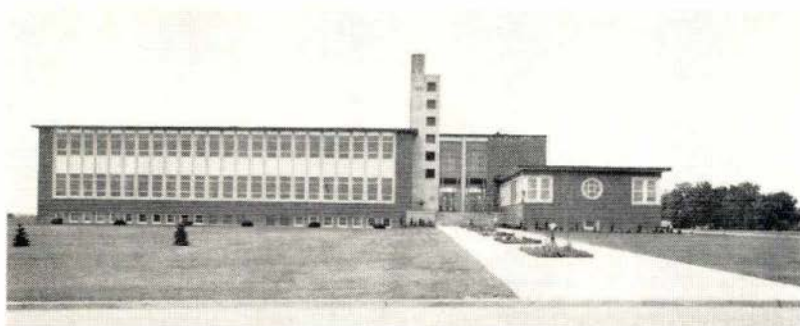
JOHN H. REBLE
President 1925-1953.



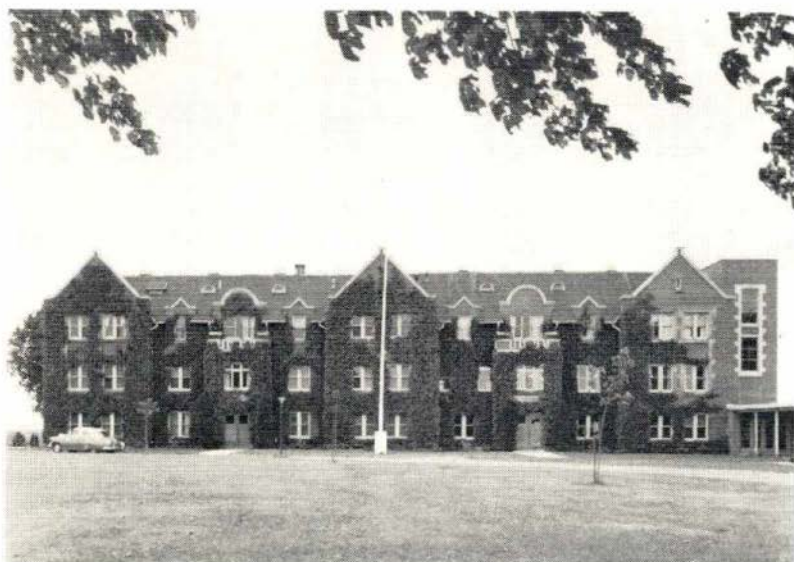
JACOB MAURER
President, Central Canada Synod,
1912-1925.



ALBERT JACOBI
President, 1953-1961.



WATERLOO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
Teaching and Administration Building.



WILLISON HALL
Seminary and Dormitory.

present were: C. F. W. Rechenberg, Toronto; J. Fishburn, Maple; E. Wurster, Preston; L. H. Gerndt, Mannheim; F. K. Ehinger, Philipsburg; J. A. Hengerer, Sebringville; J. N. Muenzinger (not ordained), and D. Stahlschmidt, Heidelberg. The names of J. H. Hunton, Williamsburg, and C. F. A. Kaessmann were mentioned, though these pastors were absent. Lay delegates were: Prof. E. Schlüter, Toronto; Jacob Snider, Maple; J. Zöger, Philipsburg. Representing the mother synod was Gottlieb Bassler of Zelenople, Pa.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Inasmuch, as the need of a distinct and independent Synod has long been expressed by the members of this Conference as a general and urgent necessity for the furtherance and spread of the Lutheran Church in our province of Canada; and whereas the Conference has after mature and careful consideration of all circumstances, received from the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Pittsburgh permission to form an independent Synod, therefore be it resolved:

That this Conference gratefully accept the permission given by the mother Synod and now, in accordance with the proposed condition, organize itself into a distinct Synod, under the name of the *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada*.⁴

The officers elected were: C. F. W. Rechenberg, president; L. H. Gerndt, secretary; Mr. H. Van der Smissen, treasurer.

After five years the synodical list showed that marked progress had been made. In 1866 there were twenty pastors and a total of sixty-three congregations and preaching stations. Among the pastors received into membership during this five-year period were H. Hayunga, 1862; A. Böettger, Hamilton, 1862; G. Schmidt, Philipsburg, 1864; H. C. Kähler, Sebastopol, 1862; I. L. Raw, New Dundee, 1863; Chr. F. Spring, Delhi, 1865; C. R. Gerndt, Mitchell and Logan, 1861; Chr. Behrens, Normanby, 1861; A. C. Kuz, Humberstone, 1863; and H. E. Fisher, Jr., Hamilton, 1865.⁵

The synod accepted the invitation to help form the General Council and later in the same year became a charter member of that body.

It was well that the Pittsburgh Synod kept a maternal eye on the Canada Synod. In September, 1867, Dr. Passavant made a visit to the daughter synod, which synod was being imposed on by place-seekers

and adventurers.⁶ Perhaps it was to that visit he was referring when later in his life he wrote:

At a convention of the Canada Synod which we attended years ago, no less than four such characters were applicants. The first was a certain student named K. who had been refused admission at Thiel. The revelation of his character made an end to his prospects, but the same man was unfortunately afterwards ordained by the Ohio Synod, only to afflict and disgrace several congregations, and be expelled for drunkenness. A second applicant was a poor victim of strong drink, but his countenance told too plainly the story of his habits. The third was the notorious Rev. H., once a member in some Methodist body in Canada, then a disgraced pastor of our English churches in Nova Scotia, and then an applicant for a vacant church in the Canada Synod. He had already been admitted, but when our name was announced, he suddenly disappeared, though no man pursued. The congregation was notified and duly warned and the synod and church saved further disgrace! The fourth candidate was a young Israelite by the name of S. His examination was sustained and he was ordained on the call of a congregation. Unfortunately, like the fabled "wandering Jew," he has been on his travels most of the time since then.⁷

THE UPPER OTTAWA

The missionary spirit so prominent in the Pittsburgh Conference manifested itself in the Canada Synod. One of the first missionary projects was in the Upper Ottawa Valley. The beginning of the Lutheran settlements in the Upper Ottawa District dates back to the year 1858 when, under the German immigration agent, W. Sinns, several German families took up homesteads in Renfrew County. The number was increased during the following year by the arrival of additional colonists who came directly from Germany, and a few families who moved from Berlin (Kitchener). Mr. W. Sinns' report, dated October 20, 1860, is enlightening:

According to your letter with instructions, of the eleventh ultimo "to furnish the Government with some reliable information respecting the Prussian immigrants who have settled within the past few years on the Upper Ottawa," I proceeded at once to that district, and have now the honor to submit the following report:

The statement annexed herewith shows that 95 Prussian or German families have actually settled on the Upper Ottawa within the last eighteen months. They are scattered through the townships of Alice, Wilberforce, Bromley, Admaston, North and South Algoma, and along the free grants of the Opeongo road, besides

some thirty families have made payments on land in Wilberforce and Alice, who have not been able to take possession chiefly for want of roads to reach their respective lots. About a dozen families have settled in Petawawa and Westmeath, and a great number now in service will enter on land next spring.

There is also a further increase of some sixty families expected, who have advised their friends that they will emigrate from Germany next spring.

Those settled along the northwest shore of Indian river in Alice, and along the town line between Wilberforce and North Algoma have trouble in getting to the mills at Pembroke and Eganville because some old settlers have closed the shanty roads, which at present are the only means of access as no regular road is made as yet through the locality. They have to carry the produce upon their backs to market it, and as they are not able to plead their grievances in the English language, the townships' councils seem slow in granting and having the necessary conveniences constructed.

The quantity of land cleared by the settlers in Alice and Wilberforce has not been all under crop; only about one third was cleared last summer which is now sown with fall wheat and rye.

These people have already advanced so far that it would be a loss for them to give their labor to others. They have reached the first step where they feel the sweetness of independence. What a contrast! two years only since they were servants of hard and exacting landlords in the old Country.⁸

The following year, 1862, Mr. Sinns reports that sixty Prussian families had made arrangements to settle in the Township of Clarendon and that they would arrive by the first vessels in the spring of 1863.⁹

These Upper Ottawa pioneers, progressing in their new settlement and writing to friends and relatives to come out and join them, longed for the services of a Lutheran minister. Their request was made known in a letter written by Mr. Sinns to the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod, but no immediate action was taken by that body due to the fact that conference was limited as far as pastors and funds were concerned and perhaps did not recognize the importance of the field. Letters from individual colonists were forwarded to the conference and later to the synod, containing heart-touching pleas, of which the following is but a sample:

When on Sunday I sit at my window and look out over the waste fields and snow and the grave of my son, I oftentimes imagine I hear the church bells at home, with their friendly tones, calling the congregation together. But, alas! a few years since we have been here without hearing a single sermon! None of our children have been confirmed!

We have no consecrated God's acre! Each one buries his dead where it seems best, and bewails his sad loss without one word from a minister of the Gospel. How painfully one misses the presence of a pious pastor in circumstances of heavy sorrow. . . . If we could only occasionally hear a preacher of our faith we should be satisfied.¹⁰

Such pleas could not go unanswered. One of the actions taken at the first meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada in 1861 was the appointment of L. H. Gerndt as exploring missionary for the Upper Ottawa district. Gerndt was well qualified for the task. Born July 18, 1821, in Berlin, Germany, he studied at Bonn and Berlin, and, in 1847, accepted a call as missionary to the Gossner field in India. After ten years of service in India he came to Canada, where he served the congregations at New Hamburg, New Dundee-Mannheim, and just prior to leaving for Renfrew County had acted as exploring missionary of the Saugeen district.

Gerndt quickly surveyed the new district and began preaching at eight different places within the County of Renfrew, thus laying the foundations for as many congregations. His early success is indicated in the report of the chief immigration agent for the year 1861, from which the following excerpt is taken:

The settlements of Alice, Wilberforce, and Algona, and the other townships in the county of Renfrew are making steady progress. Three congregations of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada have been established. The larger commune near Pembroke has received a free grant of fifteen acres as a site for a Church, School and Burial Ground; the other two congregations have also made application to the government for a like grant.¹¹

As early as 1868 the missionary reported to synod that he had organized eight congregations as follows: St. Paul's, Locksley, 1861, St. Peter's, St. Stephen's, March 21, 1866, and Zion's, September, 1864, all in Alice Township; Grace, Rankin, February, 1866; St. John's, Bonnechere, 1863; St. John's in Grattan Township, 1868, and St. Paul's in Denbigh, 1868; besides ministering at Petawawa, Pembroke, Renfrew and several other preaching stations. His parish covered a vast territory and it is amazing that one missionary was able to cover the district and accomplish such remarkable results in so short a time. When Gerndt relinquished the field in 1870 there was a total of a thousand souls in the parish. The two largest congregations at that

time were St. Paul's in Alice and St. John's in Wilberforce, each with fifty families.

Toward the end of Gerndt's pastorate, in 1869, he was given an assistant in the person of Rev. F. W. Franke, who had come out from Hermansburg. Upon Gerndt's departure, Franke was called as pastor of the entire parish.¹² His pastorate proved very divisive. Resigning from the Canada Synod, 1872, he caused a division in several of the congregations. In October of the same year a letter was received by the president from synod layman, Karl Schulze, of Alice, in which he described the deplorable state of the congregations and the desire of the majority of the members to remain with the Canada Synod. Within a few months Pastor J. Ehinger took charge of the field, but the disruption caused by Franke resulted in the loss of some members from St. Paul's and St. Stephen's, Alice; St. John's, Grattan Township; and St. John's, Wilberforce Township. The thirteen families which withdrew from St. Paul's organized Grace, Missouri Lutheran congregation, and those in Wilberforce who followed Franke, organized St. John's, Germanicus, also Missouri. Franke left the field in 1873, accepting a call to the Missouri congregation near Delhi. The following year H. Schröder of the Missouri Synod was called by Franke's followers.

St. Paul's, in Locksley, Alice Township, was the mother congregation and the location of the residence of the first pastors. After the split, St. Paul's continued for several years, but when the church and parsonage were lost by fire, the members disbanded, some joining the Rankin congregation and others going to Pembroke. The property remained with the synod.

St. Stephen's, Alice Township, was also lost by fire. Those members, faithful to the Canada Synod, rebuilt on a new site, renaming the congregation St. Peter's.

Grace congregation at Rankin was served by Gerndt as early as 1862. The congregation was organized, February 21, 1866, and the first church was erected, 1867. Fifteen years later the second church was built during the pastorate of the Rev. Petsche. The present edifice was constructed in 1907. Grace, Rankin, has remained faithful to the Canada Synod throughout its history. The pastors until the end of the century were: Gerndt, Ehinger, Graepp, Bastian, Petsche,

Schroeder, Schuelke, and Henkel. In more recent years Rankin has been served by Waterloo Seminary graduates: Wm. Schultz, R. B. Langen, N. L. Lange, and C. Dechert.

The next three Canada Synod pastorates served by F. Ehinger, B. Dubiel and C. Graepp were of brief duration. In May, 1873, during the pastorate of Ehinger, St. John's at Petawawa was organized,¹³ and two years later a mission was opened across the Ottawa River at Ladysmith in Pontiac County, Quebec, where German settlers had taken up homesteads. The Pontiac County Lutherans organized St. John's, Ladysmith, in 1872 and Zion at Schwartz, 1914. Grace, Eganville, was organized by E. Schülke, July, 1888. This congregation, together with Grattan, Sebastopol and Silver Lake, was served from 1895-1915 by G. Brackebusch, and 1915-1938 by M. Voss. Trinity, at Chalk River, organized 1894, was another product of E. Shulke's missionary work. Almost from the beginning of mission work in the Upper Ottawa preaching stations at Sebastopol Township, Pembroke and Admaston had been served by missionaries. All three later developed into congregations. The preaching station in Sebastopol was organized as St. John's congregation. St. James, Northcote (Admaston), was organized 1887. Bethlehem at Woito, 1880; St. Stephen's, Raglan Township, 1887; St. John's, Arnprior, 1889; Maynooth, 1893; South Algona Township, 1895; Trinity, Chalk River, 1904; Schwartz, Pontiac County, Quebec, 1914.

After a few years the centre of Lutheranism in the Upper Ottawa shifted from Locksley in Alice Township to *Pembroke*. L. H. Gerndt conducted the first service there in 1863. It was organized under the name of Zion Lutheran Church by Rev. Petsche, 1883. A frame church was erected in 1884. Until 1915 Zion congregation was a part of the Alice-Petawawa-Pembroke parish served by C. Schroeder, 1886-1895; and C. Zarnke, 1896-1909. The present edifice was built in 1905. It is in Gothic design, eighty-five by forty-five feet, with a steeple 130 feet in height and a seating capacity of 750. The Rev. M. Voelker, then president of synod, was the pastor 1919-1925. Under his leadership the church was renovated, a cemetery obtained, and English services were introduced.¹⁴ During the pastorate of J. M. Zimmerman a parsonage was built, 1948, and a parish hall, 1953. In June of 1957, Zion congregation transferred 195 confirmed members

to St. Timothy's, a daughter congregation which was organized by Mission Developer H. Gram.¹⁵ From 1948-1957, Max Voss acted as assistant pastor and was followed in that office by J. L. Kirchhofer. The present pastor is Dr. Arthur Buehlow. In 1960 the baptized membership was 2,000.

Charles Newman and a few of his neighbors from Silesia in Prussia came to Denbigh Township in 1858. In 1860-1861 more families joined them. The Denbigh Post Office was established, 1863. These people worshipped in a small frame church built for the Protestant worshippers on an acre of land donated by E. Mallory. The Lutheran congregation organized by Pastor L. H. Gerndt, 1868, built its first parsonage, 1884, and its first church, 1886. The pastor travelled long distances to serve sister congregations in Plevna, Frontenac County; Raglan, Renfrew County; Maynooth, Hastings County; and Quadeville. Paul Stein was the lay-reader in Denbigh. He gave the land on which the church was built.¹⁶ This was the first parish served by Dr. John H. Reble after his arrival in Canada. Other pastors who ministered to the people of Denbigh were: J. Langholz, 1883-1884; F. Nitardy, 1884-1888; G. Brackebusch, 1888-1895; E. Weber, 1895; F. Schneider, 1896-1899; P. Besig, 1899-1903; Bredlow, 1903; C. Daechsel, 1904-1908; J. H. Reble, 1909-1912; E. Gomann, 1913-1915; C. F. Christiansen, 1915-1920; C. Blohm, 1921-1923; J. Jannau, 1925-1927; H. Binhammer, 1928-1929; R. Pfeiffer, 1929-1953.

St. Stephen's, Raglan, was founded by Rev. Nitardy, 1888. It is located on the slope of a hill that commands a pleasant view of the surrounding country. Under Pastor Brackebusch a log church was built. Dr. J. H. Reble was in charge when the present church was built.

St. John's, Petawawa, was founded in 1867, by L. H. Gerndt. The early settlers purchased land in two separate areas. The first service on the Black Bay Road was held in the homes and then in a log church. In 1909 the Canadian Government purchased the property near the Ottawa River, with the result that the two congregations amalgamated to form one strong congregation.¹⁷ Rev. David Metzger was pastor, 1956-1959. He was succeeded by Rev. David Kaiser.

Eganville is situated on the banks of Bonnechere River. Grace Lutheran Church was organized in 1888, by E. Schuelke, then serving

at Rankin. From 1895-1915 the Evanville congregation was affiliated with Grattan, Sebastopol and Silver Lake, under the pastoral care of Rev. G. Brackebusch. For four years this parish was served by Pastor M. Voss. In 1919, two years after the new church was built, Grace separated from the other churches but continued under the ministry of Voss for another twenty-nine years.¹⁸ From 16 charter members in 1888, Grace, Eganville, has grown into a congregation of 750 baptized members. The present incumbent is the Rev. Henry Schmieder, who also serves the congregation at Denbigh, and is part-time chaplain at a military camp.

Pastor G. Brackebusch of Denbigh conducted the first service in Arnprior, September 20, 1889, and soon after organized St. John's Lutheran Church. In January, 1891, the church was dedicated. The same year it was formed into a parish with Northcote and Renfrew, and served by J. Rembe. The adjoining property with house was purchased in 1907 for a parsonage. During the pastorate of J. S. Neff, in 1948, a basement was placed under the church, a chancel, sacristy, and narthex added, and the whole building was covered with a brick veneer. In 1950 Earl W. Haase became the pastor. An electric organ was purchased, the mortgage was liquidated and new pews installed. During the pastorate of Vernon N. Cronmiller, St. John's severed its affiliation with Northcote and a new educational unit was added to the church.¹⁹

Renfrew was served as a preaching point by L. H. Gerndt and Pastor Gräpp. The work in Renfrew after some years was discontinued but Gräpp, Pastor Bastian, and others served the Lutherans in Adamston or Northcote. The latter was organized in 1889, adopting the name St. James', and was affiliated with St. John's, Arnprior. In 1957 the Lutherans of Northcote agreed to form the nucleus of a new congregation in Renfrew. Pastor Wm. Huras was called and a new church was erected in Renfrew, 1961.

G. Brackebusch of Denbigh visited the Maynooth area in 1893. Services were held in a small Methodist church. In 1898 and 1899 the church was built under the guidance of Pastor Max Voss. He and his successor, living in Denbigh, served Christ Church, Maynooth, until 1930, when A. W. Lotz was called as the first resident pastor. He was succeeded by W. Goos, 1934-1938; U. Leupold, 1942-1945;

G. Wuerscher, 1945-1948; H. Gastmeier, G. R. Oelsner, and E. Hackbusch. Recently, Christ, Maynooth, and St. Stephen's, Raglan, were linked in one parish.

Conrad Zarnke was born on a farm near Heidelberg, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zarnke, on July 10, 1870. He graduated from Wagner College in 1891 and the Philadelphia Theological Seminary in 1894. Throughout his fifty-nine years in the ministry he was pre-eminently a pioneer pastor in the Upper Ottawa Valley, where he served congregations in Arnprior, Northcote, Petawawa, Alice, Chalk River, Pembroke. The latter congregation he served for two separate periods totalling more than twenty-five years. During this same time he organized the congregation in Massey.

In western Ontario his pastorates included Conestoga, Sullivan, New Hamburg and St. Matthew's, Kitchener. For several years he was manager of the Lutheran book store near the corner of King and Queen streets in Kitchener. His last congregation was St. Matthew's, East Zorra. In 1942, he and his wife retired in New Hamburg.

He holds the unusual record of having been responsible for the building of six churches: Northcote, Massey, Petawawa, Alice, New Hamburg and Pembroke. He died on August 4, 1953. Burial was made in Mt. Hope Cemetery, Kitchener.²⁰

Guenther Brackebusch was born in a Lutheran parsonage in Berkum, Germany, September 26, 1860. He was educated at the universities of Tuebingen, Leipzig, and Goettingen and the Theological Seminary at Kropp. He came to Canada and was ordained by the Canada Synod, June 6, 1888. He served the Denbigh parish with six congregations and preaching stations; the Eganville parish with four congregations, 1895-1915; and the Normanby parish with four congregations, 1915-1928. Physically he was a giant with a keen intellect. This fitted him for the forty years of arduous work in Canada. For one year he lived retired in Waterloo. His death occurred November 15, 1929.²¹

Max Voss was born November 19, 1876, on an estate in Holstein province on the German-Danish border. His theological training was received at Breklum. In 1897 he came to the United States. After one year at the Seminary at Dubuque, Iowa, he served a parish in South Dakota for two years. He came to Canada in 1900 and for the next

three years served as a traveling missionary in the Whitney, Maynooth, Lyndock, Chalk River, Petawawa area. Subsequent parishes were: Wiarton, 1903-1909; Baden, 1909-1912; Hespeler, 1912-1914; Eganville, 1914-1947; Pembroke, 1947-1958. During his ministry the churches at Eganville and Maynooth were built. He died January 18, 1959, at Pembroke.²²

At a meeting in Philipsburg, 1868, the synod decided to publish a church paper. The paper appeared for the first time in December, 1868, under the name *Kirchen-Blatt der Evangelische Lutherische Synode von Canada*. The second number did not appear until April 1, 1869. For a number of years it continued to be published bi-weekly until 1910, when it was amalgamated with the *Deutsche Lutheraner*, the official organ of the General Council.²³

BRUCE AND GREY COUNTIES

In the chapter on the Canada Conference reference was made to the counties of Bruce and Grey and to the organization of congregations in the townships of Brant, Carrick, and Normanby. It is necessary to again direct attention to those townships and review the labors of Pastors Behrens and Neudocffer.

Christian Behrens was born in Hanover, Germany, April 22, 1817. He attended the University of Berlin, and was prepared for foreign mission work in the Gossner Mission. For eleven years he served as a medical missionary in India. The Sepoy rebellion forced him to flee from that country, and in doing so he suffered an injury from which he never fully recovered. Upon his return to Germany he was commissioned for work in Canada. He arrived, December, 1861, and began his labors at St. John's congregation, Normanby Township. He proved to be a zealous missionary, traveling from place to place on horseback, carrying his Bible and medical case, for he was not only the first resident pastor but also the first medical doctor in the district. Often when he returned from his extended trips he would find many sick folk waiting for him at the log cabin of Jacob Weber, where he made his home. Besides serving St. Paul's, Normanby, St. John's, Carrick Township, and First St. Peter's, Brant Township, he organized St. James', Normanby, 1864; St. Peter's, Sullivan Township, 1865, and served the Lutherans in Hanover. This large parish consisting of 662

souls in six congregations and necessitating many miles of travel over poor roads, was served by Behrens until 1867 when the parish was divided. Behrens continued to serve St. Paul's and St. James', Normanby, and St. John's, Carrick, until his death, October 14, 1868. The esteem in which he was held was manifested by the attendance of over one thousand people at his funeral. In 1937 a cairn was erected to his memory. It is situated in front of St. Paul's Church, Normanby, directly across from the cemetery where Behrens was buried.²⁴

An interim ministry of three months was served by Rev. Haleen. Upon his return to Germany, he published a small booklet entitled: *Drei Monate im Canada*. It contains an account of his trip by boat, train, and stage, from New York to the meeting of synod at Philipsburg in 1868, and from thence to Normanby where he lived with Paul Müller. His report on Behrens' work, illness and death is very informative.²⁵

Behrens' successor was F. C. Ehinger, who took charge in January, 1869, and served this parish for five years. During his pastorate a parsonage was erected and a new stone church built. While pastor of Normanby-Carrick parish, Ehinger organized Zion congregation, Ayton, and St. Peter's, Neustadt. At this time part of the congregation of St. James', Normanby (Lauderbach) seceded from the synod to unite with the Missouri Synod.

When Behrens' parish was divided, 1867, the Rev. Wilhelm Mackensen was installed in the Brant, Hanover, and Sullivan parish and added to his charge a new congregation, St. Peter's, Bentinck Township, which he organized 1868. He with two or three other pastors had recently come out from Hermansburg, Germany, and joined the Canada Synod. These Hermansburg pastors, however, could not agree with the other pastors of the Canada Synod, and were not in favor of fellowship with the General Council. The result was that they resigned from the synod in 1872.²⁶ The congregations in Brant, Bentinck and Hanover followed Mackensen in withdrawing from the synod and continued to retain him as their pastor. Later Mackensen and these three congregations united with the Buffalo Synod. Mackensen served until his death, 1897. As might be expected, division followed in some of the above congregations. Members loyal to the Canada Synod organized second

St. Matthew's congregation, Hanover, 1873, and St. Peter's, Brant, 1877.

Among the pastors who served congregations in Bruce and Grey counties was the *Rev. Ernst Neudoerffer*. He was born at Mailbach parish of Bubcnorbis, Württemberg, Germany, March 19, 1849, the son of Karl Neudoerffer and Margarethe, née Blank. He attended school at Reutlingen, Wurttemberg, and later entered the seminary of the Basel Mission. In 1875, he received and accepted a call from the Lutheran congregation at Santa Leopoldina, Brazil. Following seven years' service in South America, he returned to Germany for a period of recuperation. In February, 1883, he came to Canada and was installed as pastor at Zurich. Four years later he accepted a call to the Normanby-Carrick parish, where he labored for twenty-eight years. His last five years of active service were as pastor of St. John's, Ayton. He died in Moorestown, N.J., August 27, 1936, at the age of eighty-seven years. Two of his sons, Ernst and August, served for many years at Rajahamundry, in the India mission field.²⁷

The first St. Peter's, Brant Township, was organized by L. H. Gerndt, 1860, and was served by Behrens and then by his assistant, W. Mackensen. Mackensen withdrew from the Canada Synod, 1872, and joined the Buffalo Synod. Until his death in 1897, he served Brant, Bentinck, Hanover and other nearby congregations of the latter synod. He had organized the Bentinck congregation while serving as a pastor of the Canada Synod. His successors were: E. N. Denef, 1897-1926; E. H. Kressin, 1926-1938; F. H. Maw, 1939-1942; H. Ostreich, 1942.

The second St. Peter's, Brant, was organized by the members who were loyal to the Canada Synod. In November, 1877, a church was dedicated. For many years this was the mother church of the area. The pastors residing at Brant served Canada Synod congregations in Hanover, Elmwood, Chesley, etc. The ministers who served this parish were: Gräpp, 1877; E. Rein, 1878; B. Mueller, 1883-1895; J. Goos, 1896-1903; H. Henkel, 1903-1920; E. Gomann, 1920-1927; F. Howald, 1927-1941; E. Dietsche; L. Eberhardt.

In recent years First St. Peter's, Brant, and the Bentinck congregation returned to the Canada Synod.

The *Rev. Heinrich L. Henkel* served the longest pastorate in Brant,

1903-1921. He was born January 28, 1871, at Espol, Hanover, Germany; educated at Kropp Seminary, 1887-1891, and again after an interruption caused by illness, 1894-1895. After his ordination by the Canada Synod, August 14, 1895, he accepted a call to the Rankin parish, 1895-1902; Brant-Elmwood-Chesley parish, 1903-1921. In 1921 he accepted a call to become professor of philosophy and religious knowledge at Waterloo College, which position he held until the time of his death, March 2, 1936.²⁸

In 1858 and 1859 a number of families who had previously resided near Preston, Ontario, came to Sullivan Township. One of the leaders, John Mannerow, sent a letter to Rev. E. Wurster in Preston, asking him to supply them with a Lutheran pastor. In the spring of 1862, Christian Behrens of Normanby Township came upon horseback to conduct the first Lutheran service, which was held in the home of Ernest Leuben. Behrens served them until 1865, in which year the congregation was organized and a log church was built. The present stone edifice was erected 1881. The pastors during the first fifty years of its history were: Behrens, 1862-1865; Mackensen, 1865-1872; Ehinger, 1872-1873; Schambach (first resident pastor), 1873-1875; Baumbach, 1875-1877; Graepp, 1877-1882; Muenzinger, 1882-1891; Arndt, 1892-1894; Rembe, 1894-1900; Klaehn, 1900-1905.

A daughter congregation is St. James', Williamsford, organized 1888. A church was erected and the congregation has been served by pastors residing in Desboro.

The first services in Hanover were conducted by Christian Behrens and W. Mackensen, 1861-1872. When Mackensen left the Canada Synod a division occurred in the congregation. The members who desired to remain with the Canada Synod organized St. Matthew's congregation, 1873. A frame church standing on the site of the present church was purchased. When a Canada Synod Lutheran church was formed in Brant, 1876, the pastors of Brant served St. Matthew's, Hanover. A new brick church was erected, 1888, during the pastorate of B. Mueller. The Rev. Herman Twietmeyer was the first resident pastor and also served the longest pastorate in the history of the congregation, 1896-1930. He also served Trinity, Walkerton, 1896-1912, and Mildmay, 1898-1906. In 1906 the first parsonage was erected. The present church, built on the same site, was dedicated December 13,

1914. During the pastorate of E. F. Sterz a second parsonage was built and a new pipe organ installed.²⁹ The Rev. Siegfried Wittig is the present pastor. In 1960 a modern educational unit and fellowship hall was built. The congregation reported 1,200 baptized members in 1960.

Herman Twietmeyer was born December 4, 1864, in Wienbergen, province of Hanover. His theological education was received at Kropp Seminary, 1886-1889. In June, 1889, he was ordained by the Canada Synod and served the newly-formed mission parish, Elmwood and Wiarton. From 1893-1896 he was the pastor at Cramer Hill, New Jersey. For thirty-four years he ministered to St. Matthew's, Hanover, Ontario. He retired in May, 1930, and died August 12, 1948.³⁰

St. John's, Ayton, was organized, 1890, by Rev. E. Neudoerffer. From Normanby he served St. John's, Ayton. A private home served as the church for ten years. A church was built in 1900. Three years later he resigned from the Normanby parish to become the first resident Lutheran pastor in Ayton, where he served for six years. His successor was J. M. Langholz, 1919-1928. J. H. Peters was in charge, 1928-1939. From 1930-1939 he served also in St. Paul's in Neustadt. F. W. Haak was installed, 1939, and served an effectual ministry for twelve years. In 1950 St. John's of the Canada Synod and Zion of the American Lutheran Church (organized by Ehinger) were amalgamated and adopted the name Trinity. It was recognized that neither of the existing church buildings was large enough to house the combined congregation. During the pastorate of William Nolting a new church was built, and dedicated December 13, 1953.

St. Peter's, Neustadt, was founded in 1869 by Ehinger, who was then serving the Normanby parish of the Canada Synod. The congregation split in 1870, and one part united with the Evangelical Synod in North America. H. Schultz had applied for entrance in the Canada Synod, 1871, and was placed with Ehinger in charge of Neustadt and Ayton. Schultz was in sympathy with the Hermansburg pastors, Mackensen, Rehn and Sagehorn.³¹ In September, 1872, St. Peter's congregation withdrew from the synod. Schultz was independent of any synodical connection for eight years. In 1880 he joined the Buffalo Synod and continued to serve Ayton and Neustadt

until 1908. He was succeeded by pastors Ziemer and Mellville of the Buffalo Synod. In 1930, St. Paul's, Neustadt, was accepted into the Canada Synod, and about 1950, St. Peter's, Neustadt, returned to the synod which had given it birth. Since then St. Paul's and St. Peter's form one parish, served by L. H. Kalbfleisch until 1959, and W. Goos, 1960-

Settlers of the Lutheran and Reformed faith decided to organize St. John's Church in Elmwood, 1884. They met in the house of Christian Forler. The first church was built in 1885-1886. On June 3, 1886, they welcomed Christian Spring as their first pastor. A new and larger church was dedicated, 1906. For much of its history it has formed a parish with St. Peter's, Brant.

Trinity, Walkerton, was organized January 18, 1880. Services had been conducted by J. Lautenschlager as early as 1887. For five years services were conducted in various places, in the Methodist church, town hall, and court house. In 1885 the church was erected and has been enlarged twice since that date. The following pastors have served the congregation: B. Mueller, 1884-1888; P. Lamartine, 1888-1891; F. Mueller, 1891-1897; H. Twietmeyer, 1897-1911; H. R. Mosig, 1912-1917; J. Lamack, 1918-1924; S. J. Wittig, 1925-1928; C. P. Boerner, 1928-1933; E. J. Fischer, 1933-1948; G. Orth, R. Rock, John Arbuckle.³²

St. Matthew's, Mildmay, a sister congregation, was organized 1889. The church building was erected 1890. It was enlarged, 1939, and a new chancel added. In 1946 the basement was completed and furnished. Until recently, it has formed a parish with Trinity, Walkerton. The present incumbent is Dr. Leon Irschick.

St. Mark's, Chesley, was founded, 1892, with seven families. Pastor U. Berner from Brant and Elmwood was the organizer. For a brief period H. Rembe from the Sullivan parish conducted the services. Then it became an integral part of the Brant-Elmwood parish. An old Presbyterian church building was purchased, 1904. In May, 1919, St. Mark's severed its connection with the Brant and Elmwood parish and formed a parish with Port Elgin. From 1919-1928, St. Mark's had a resident pastor in the person of C. C. J. Maass. The Rev. Harry Baetz was the pastor, 1929-1951, which proved to be years of great progress. A new church was built and dedicated

June 27, 1937, at which time the Rev. H. Schildroth, a son of the congregation and then president of the Michigan Synod, was one of the speakers. Since 1952, St. Mark's has been served by F. Little, 1952-1954; Albert Lorch, 1955-1958, and G. Becker, 1958- .

The Rev. C. C. J. Maass was born in Germany, February 15, 1862. He received his education at Halle, Berlin, and Kropp Seminary. He was ordained June 28, 1885, and served the following parishes in the Canada Synod: Logan, 1885-1888; New Hamburg, 1888-1895; Preston, 1895-1907; Zurich, 1907-1913. In 1919 he became the first resident pastor at Chesley, where he served until 1928. Pastor Maass was known for his literary ability and was the author of many poems. He died December 2, 1940.

The first services were held in Wiarton, 1888, by pastors Neudoerfer and Veit. St. Peter's was organized the following year by Pastor Twietmeyer, who served the congregation until 1893. The Rev. U. Berner was in charge until 1897. F. Hahn, 1898; C. Schroeder till 1902; M. Voss, 1903-1909.

In 1934, Our Saviour's, Owen Sound, was organized with George Durst as the first pastor. Soon thereafter Wiarton and Owen Sound were combined in a parish. Pastor Durst continued until 1941, when he enlisted as a chaplain with the Canadian Army. Subsequent pastorates were served by M. J. Stockman, N. Willison, Wallace Minke and Harry Lossing.

WATERLOO COUNTY

St. John's, Wellesley Township, was founded by F. Pfeiffer, 1852. He served the congregation until 1856, and dedicated a log church. For the next four years services were conducted by pastors Wunderlich, Hildebrandt and Werth. From 1860-1907 St. John's was served from Heidelberg. While D. Stahlschmidt was in charge a new stone church was built, 1872. Since 1907 it has been a part of the Linwood parish.

In Wellesley village, F. Pfeiffer organized St. Paul's congregation, 1853. A church was dedicated by C. H. Thompsen, 1856. While Ehinger was in charge, 1860-1863, a mission was started at Poole. Ehinger's successor was the Rev. Mr. Kirmes of the Missouri Synod. The Canada Synod, through the efforts of Rev. J. Muenzinger, organized a second St. Paul's in Wellesley village in 1876, and built a church.

In the early seventies of the last century two Lutheran churches were started in Linwood. The Rev. F. Dubpernell organized a Missouri Lutheran church. Part of the members withdrew to form a Canada Synod congregation. This latter group worshipped in a log church situated two miles from the town. In 1885, Rev. H. Petsche guided this congregation in building a church in the town of Linwood. Under the Rev. H. Rembe, who served the congregation 1901-1904, the building of a more spacious and beautiful church was begun. It was consecrated, October 18, 1905. Under the Rev. Paul Kleine a parsonage was erected in 1907. Dr. J. H. Reble was the pastor of this parish, 1912-1925. Linwood forms a parish with Wellesley Township and St. John's, Hesson, the last named dating back to 1863, when it was organized by Pastor Masalsky. Recent pastorates were served by Virgil Anderson and A. Wedman.

The Rev. H. Petsche, in charge at Linwood, 1884-1887, served the synod acceptably for twenty-five years. While at Alice (Locksley), 1882-1884, he organized Zion, Pembroke, and St. John's, Eganville, and dedicated a new church at Pembroke. He supervised the building of the church at Linwood, and then served for twenty years in the Heidelberg parish.

For a few years the Lutheran settlers in St. Jacobs attended services at Heidelberg, Elmira and Waterloo. Encouraged by pastors D. Stahlischmidt and Kaessmann, St. James' congregation, St. Jacobs was organized, 1866, and the same year a church was erected. St. James' was served by the pastors from Elmira until 1905, when it became a part of the Conestoga parish. In 1931 the church was completely renovated and in 1937 an adequate parish hall was built.

The congregations at Waterloo, Elmira and Preston have been given some consideration in an earlier chapter. Because of their size and influence, more information is supplied.

When E. Wurster came to *Waterloo*, the population of the village was 250. In 1854 there were 100 communicants. His salary was \$200 per annum. When J. Hoelsche came, the population was about 800. His salary was \$350 at first and later was increased to \$400. When he resigned in 1873 the population was 1,500. The congregation expanded with the growth of the town. During his ministry a pipe

organ was purchased and the church renovated. His spiritual and consecrated leadership was long remembered.

The Rev. J. Schnieder was the next pastor, 1873-1881. During his ministry a parsonage was purchased. The old church building was then too small for the congregation, which had 300 enrolled in its Sunday School, and fifty members in its choir. The Rev. J. L. Brown dedicated the new and larger St. John's Church, September 16, 1883. His successors were: W. H. Buettner, 1885-1887, and B. Christiansen, 1888-1894. For six years, 1894-1900, M. G. Arendt rendered a faithful ministry with resulting increase in membership. E. A. Schultz was the incumbent until 1906. He was not a member of any synod, and the congregation's relationship with the Canada Synod was broken during his pastorate.

The Rev. F. W. E. Bockelman stayed with St. John's for sixteen years. He led the congregation back into the fold of the Canada Synod and became a strong supporter of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary. Clifford S. Roberts served the longest pastorate, 1923-1948, and again as associate pastor, 1957-1960. A parish hall was built, 1928, and there was continuous progress.³³ The present incumbent is Arnold Conrad, a graduate of Waterloo Seminary. The old church was completely renovated and many chaste designs in woodwork were added. In the autumn of 1959 all indebtedness was liquidated. Just when St. John's was ready to hold a service of thanksgiving, a great loss was suffered. The stately church with its high steeple was completely destroyed by fire, November 1, 1959. The congregation, with a current baptized membership of 2,300 souls, is planning to build a church on a new site. One hundred and fifty of its members were transferred to Mt. Zion congregation, Waterloo, in 1956.

Rev. Emmanuel Wurster ministered to *St. Peter's, Preston*,³⁴ for twenty-seven years, 1854-1881. Within a few years a clear deed to the church property was obtained, overcoming a contentious obstacle to growth. The membership in 1858 was 135 communicants. Wurster was a missionary. He was sympathetic to the appeal of the scattered Lutherans. He founded congregations in Schantz, Breslau, Hespeler, and Strasburg, prevailed upon Pastor Behrens to organize the Lutherans in Sullivan Township, served the Lutherans in Princeton, and was one of the founders of the Canada Synod and its president for two years.

He resigned in 1881, but continued to reside in Preston until his death, April 24, 1893. His successor was C. Schroeder, 1881-1886, during whose ministry a parsonage was built. The Rev. F. Kern stayed for only one year but assisted and encouraged the congregation in its plans to build a new church. The cornerstone was laid, August 21, 1887. The Rev. T. Snyder was the next pastor, 1888-1895. The present church was dedicated in 1889. During his pastorate regular English services were introduced. C. C. J. Maass, pastor for twelve years, 1895-1907, was noted for his edifying ministry. During his years in Preston the burdensome debt on church and parsonage was liquidated. C. J. Lucas served 1908-1914, and was followed by Y. Brandt, 1914-1915, and M. Voelker, 1915-1919. Rev. W. H. Knauff officiated at St. Peter's for thirty-three years, a period in which there were many improvements in the church. Though not a forceful speaker, Pastor Knauff was a dedicated pastor whose ministry in the homes of the people was greatly appreciated. Death closed his ministry in 1953. A new parish house was built and the church was renovated in 1958, during the pastorate of James Dauphinee.

PERTH COUNTY

We return briefly to Perth County and in particular to the congregations at Ellice (Brunner), Milverton, Stratford, Listowel, Wallace-Treastle, North Easthope, and Gad's Hill.

The settlers near Rostock and Brunner in Ellice Township at first went a long distance to the church at Sebringville. A congregation was established by J. A. Hengerer, 1857, at Wartburg, where Dr. Philip Schaffranek was the pastor following his reception into the Canada Synod, 1867. The parish was formed into two congregations, St. John's, Wartburg, and St. Paul's, Ellice. Some difficulties arose as to the location of the parsonage. Schaffranek, who had come from the Episcopal Church, after a full examination of his documents, was deposed and his name was stricken from the roll of synod.³⁵ However, he continued for a brief time as pastor at Wartburg and J. Salinger accepted a call to St. Paul's. About 1870 St. John's, Wartburg, went to the Missouri Synod under C. Lohrmann. Following Schaffranek, St. Paul's, Ellice, was served in rapid succession by Hengerer, Salinger, Wuest, Schambach, Veit, Spring, and Schultz. The Rev. John

Strempfer was the pastor, 1873-1878; and I. Heinzelman, 1880-1886. In 1886 the congregation welcomed the *Rev. A. Blunck*, a young man who graduated from the Brecklum Seminary and had been serving a congregation in Muskoka for two years. This pastor served St. Paul's faithfully for thirty-six years. The congregation prospered and a new brick church was built, 1894, also a new parsonage. Along with St. Paul's Pastor Blunck served St. Peter's, Milverton, until 1923. He died in 1943. Since 1923 the following Waterloo Seminary graduates have served St. Paul's: P. Boerner, J. Mangelsen, P. Eydtt, E. Schultz and N. A. Keffer.

St. Peter's, Milverton, was organized 1877. Two years earlier a Mr. Schaumbach, who was a candidate of theology, held the first services and gathered the people into a congregation. Until 1923 St. Peter's formed a parish with St. Paul's, Ellice. The Rev. John Mangelsen, following his graduation from Waterloo Seminary, assumed the pastorate in 1923. The synod met in Milverton in 1927. The same year J. Mangelsen resigned. His successor was Dr. E. Gomann. In 1928 a new site was purchased and the present church was erected. Since then the congregation has progressed under E. J. Treusch, 1939-1947; M. J. Stockman, 1948-1957; and L. Eberhardt.

Stratford is the seat of Perth County, named in honor of Stratford-on-Avon, England. It has developed from a few log shanties in 1828 to a population of 900 in 1852, and now is a city of 30,000, noted for its theatre and Shakespearean performances. Zion congregation was organized on February 13, 1859, by J. A. Hengerer, then pastor at Sebringville. In 1863, a gift of two lots from the Canada Land Company made possible the erection of a chapel on Brunswick Street. In 1874, while John Strempfer was the pastor, a white brick church was erected on the corner of Cambria and Dufferin Streets. The first resident pastor was A. Haleen. Following his death, 1877, neighboring pastors served Zion congregation. This was not satisfactory, with the result that for several years, until 1905, the church was served by pastors of the Missouri Synod. The Rev. Otto Klaehn of the Canada Synod was the pastor for twenty years, 1905-1925. The third and present church building was erected on the corner of Erie and St. David's Streets, 1908. In 1912 some members withdrew from Zion to form St. Peter's Church, affiliated with the Missouri Synod. While in

charge at Stratford, Dr. Klaehn was president of the Canada Synod, 1921-1925. H. F. Gruhn was installed in January, 1926. His successors were Karl Knauff, 1943-1955, and Walter Ohrt, 1955- .36

St. Paul's, Wallace Township, held services in the homes of its members, 1862-1864, and then in a log church until 1888, when the present church was erected. It was organized by the Missouri Synod and served by Dubpernell, Succop, and Bruer until 1874, in which year part of the congregation withdrew to unite with the congregation at Kurtzville. The other and larger part was then served by the Canada Synod. Rev. Sommers came in 1881 to serve the combined parish of Listowel, Wallace and Treastle. In 1888 a new church was built. From this year, beginning with Rev. Arendt, Wallace was served by pastors who resided at Listowel.

Rev. Sommers, in the same year that he came to Wallace, founded St. Paul's Church in Listowel. A church was built in 1862. The following pastors have served the three-fold parish: Sommers, 1881-1886; Arendt, 1886-1891; Daeschel, 1891-1904; Aksim, 1904-1906; Masuhr, 1906-1910; Gilman, 1910-1913; J. F. H. Schorten came in 1913. In the early twenties Pastor Schorten accepted a call to become head of the German Department at Waterloo College. His successor and present pastor, Richard Geelhaar, has served the Listowel parish for over thirty-five years. He has shown progressive leadership within the parish and has served beyond his parish as an officer of the youth organizations of synod, a member of the Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Service, and was secretary of the Board of Governors, Waterloo College, for several years.

Pastor Sommers also organized St. James', Treastle, and supervised the building of a church at that place. Treastle, like Wallace, has been served by pastors residing at Listowel.

Because of the distance from their homes, members of Zion, Philipsburg, who were living in North Easthope, made it known that they desired to have a church in their own area. On December 15, 1868, St. James', North Easthope, was organized. Christian Alles donated land. The brick church was consecrated by J. Muenzinger, October 10, 1869. Muenzinger was called as the first pastor and served the congregation until 1874. The next four pastorates were: J. Strempfer, 1875-1887; E. Hoffman, 1887-1889; Sander, 1889-1896; C. E. Holm,

1896-1911. Edgar Fischer, William Nolting, and K. Sobbe, former pastors of the congregation, were the speakers when the church was reconsecrated, 1951, after being renovated and enlarged. The pastor at that time was the Rev. H. Binhammer.

St. Peter's, Gadshill, is part of the North Easthope parish. It, too, was organized by Muenzinger, in 1869. At an early date a small church was built. Spacious sheds were added in 1889.

Carl Eberhardt Holm was born on the island of Ruegan, 1860. He was a student at Kiel and at Kropp Seminary. In 1886 he came to the United States, where he was ordained by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, May 29, 1888. His first parish was at Williamsville, N.Y., until 1896, when he accepted a call to the Wellesley-North Easthope-Gadshill parish. There he served until 1911, when he retired because of an unfortunate accident. He was the treasurer of the Canada Synod, 1912-1940. From 1914-1917 he was a member of the staff of Waterloo College and Seminary. He died at his home in Conestoga, October 5, 1945.³⁷

WELLAND COUNTY

St. Paul's (now First Lutheran) in Humberstone village (now Port Colborne) was organized April 13, 1862, by the Rev. Conrad Kuehn.³⁸ Internal difficulties arose in connection with the building of a new church. The president of the Canada Synod in response to an invitation from the congregation visited the parish, December, 1862. New trustees were elected and the Rev. Alex Kuhs was called as first resident pastor. The congregation united with the Canada Synod. At an early date in the pastorate of Rev. Kuhs, Emmanuel Lutheran Church was organized at Sherkston, Ontario, and preaching stations were opened in Louth and Gainsboro townships.³⁹ Kuhs served these four places until 1869. For several years St. Paul's was served by pastors residing at Snyder (Black Creek): Kaehler till 1874; Ehinger till 1877; J. Meyer till 1883, Snyder and Stahlschmidt till 1889; Badke, 1889-1904. In 1904, St. Paul's accepted the ministry of the Buffalo Synod, and was served by A. Gruhn, 1904-1909, Henry Beutler, 1910-1923, and Henry Berkobin, 1923-1925. St. Paul's returned to the Canada Synod in 1925, uniting with Holy Trinity to form First Lutheran Church. At a much earlier date the Lutheran congregation in Louth,

near Thorold, disbanded and the church building was torn down to make way for the new Welland Canal. The Rev. Theodore Iseler served the Port Colborne church for twenty years, 1927-1947. The church edifice was rebuilt and enlarged during his pastorate. His successors were: E. Treusch, A. J. Datars, C. R. Cronmiller, 1954-1957; M. J. Stockman, 1957-. During the pastorate of C. R. Cronmiller, a parish house was built. Sons of this congregation, now serving parishes in the Canada Synod, are Dr. C. R. Cronmiller, Dr. W. A. Mehlenbacher and the Rev. Alfred Kramer.

Daniel Stahlschmidt spent the years of his retirement in Humberstone (Port Colborne). His first parish was in Wisconsin. For about ten years he was a missionary of the Ministerium of New York, serving congregations in many places, such as Denmark, Carthage, Lyons, Liverpool and Newark. On January 9, 1860, he began his ministry at Heidelberg, Ontario, serving also Erbsville, Conestoga, and Wellesley Township. From 1873-1885 he was in Clarence Centre, N.Y., and then back to Canada to semi-retirement at Humberstone, where he supplied St. Paul's Lutheran Church until his death, August 18, 1889.⁴⁰

In an earlier chapter reference was made to the Lutherans in Sherkston, who from 1827-1837 were served by Mayerhoffer and Keller. The records of this group covering the next twenty-five years have been lost. Pastor Francis Guinther of St. John's, Buffalo, makes reference to a vacant congregation across from Buffalo in Canada. It is known that preachers from Buffalo served them occasionally. When C. W. F. Rechenberg, president of the Canada Synod, came to Humberstone to settle some difficulties in St. Paul's, he also visited the Lutherans at Sherkston and conducted a service in the home of John Near. Rechenberg advised them to form a parish with St. Paul's, Humberstone, which they did, both congregations extending a call to A. C. Kuhs. The congregation was organized under the name Emmanuel. A new church was built, 1867. The congregation continued as a part of the Humberstone-Snyder-Sherkston parish until the arrival of the Rev. August Gruhn, 1902. Gruhn and his successor, H. Beutler, were members of the Buffalo Synod. In 1951 Emmanuel merged with St. Luke's, Ridgeway, and extended a call to a Canada Synod pastor, W. C. Ohrt.⁴¹

When the Synod of Central Canada was organized, the Rev. W. H.

Knauff, then pastor of Holy Trinity, Humberstone, made a survey in Ridgeway. Dr. M. Bieber effected a temporary church organization. Pastor Knauff held service every Thursday evening until May, 1909, when W. C. Stumpf came for the summer. This effort failed.⁴² In 1910 H. E. Buetler of the Buffalo Synod began holding services in the Bertie Municipal Building. He organized St. Luke's congregation, December 1, 1911, and dedicated a new church, March 24, 1912. St. Luke's was served by Buffalo Synod pastors until 1951, when it merged with Emmanuel, Sherkston, and appealed to the Canada Synod for a pastor. Since then it has been served by W. C. Ohrt, 1951-1956, and R. Binhammer, 1956-1961.

St. Matthew's, Welland, was organized February 24, 1876, by the Rev. Frederick Ehinger, and the first church was built the same year. Until 1925 St. Matthew's was served by pastors who resided in Snyder, Humberstone and Niagara Falls, N.Y., with the exception of 1914-1915 period when Dr. M. Bieber and Rev. Knubel were in charge. To the Kottmeier, Hesler, Esser, Goring, Gram and other families much credit is due for keeping the congregation alive. The first resident pastor was S. W. Gartung, who came in 1926. Under his guidance a new church was built, 1928. Subsequent pastorates were served by S. Cooper, 1937-1942; F. Mueller, 1942-1945; C. R. Cronmiller, 1945-1953; R. Tubbe, 1954-1960 and M. Innes, 1960-. During Pastor Tubbe's term a parish house was built. Since 1926 St. Matthew's has made great progress.⁴³

Several attempts had been made to establish a Lutheran congregation in Fort Erie during the period 1925-1948, but all had failed. To Mr. and Mrs. John F. Gibson and a few other zealous laymen credit must be given for spurring the effort which brought President John Reble to Fort Erie and culminated in the organization of this congregation, February 29, 1948. Under the first pastor, Henry F. Nuhn, a church was erected in 1952. C. S. Roberts succeeded H. Nuhn, followed by W. Kurschinski and L. Kalbfleisch.

DELHI

About eighty Lutheran families took up residence in Middleton Township, near Delhi, 1847. A Pastor Wert served them periodically in 1851. Christian Diehl of the Markham-Vaughan parish drew the

attention of the Pittsburgh Synod to this and the Rainham area in his report of March, 1851.⁴⁴ The Pittsburgh Synod did not have sufficient pastors to serve the many Lutherans located by Diehl on his missionary trips. Pastor Adam Ernst of the Missouri Synod organized St. Peter's congregation in Middleton, 1854. In 1863, when the second church was built, some of the members appealed to the Canada Synod for a pastor. Christian Spring, F. Ehinger and A. Rehn, of the Canada Synod, served the one group, 1863-1873. During this period the parish consisted of Middleton, with preaching points at Brantford, Princeton, and Malahide.⁴⁵

WINDSOR

Fourteen Lutherans assembled at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Rau, in Windsor, on May 5, 1922, to request the Michigan Synod to establish a congregation in that city. Trinity Lutheran was organized September 17, 1922. The first resident pastor was W. Sifford. A site was purchased whereon a large duplex apartment was built, and dedicated, 1923. The basement was used by the Sunday School, the first floor as the chapel and the second floor as a parsonage. From 1925 the pastors have been graduates of Waterloo Seminary, with the result that the congregation at an early date joined the Canada Synod.

Many Siebenburger-Saxons from Transylvania came to the U.S.A. and Canada during the decade 1920-1930. The Pittsburgh Synod took an interest in these people and organized them into eight or ten Lutheran churches, one of which was at Windsor, Ontario. St. Paul's was organized January 26, 1930, with 149 confirmed members. It was associated with St. Peter's in Detroit and served by the Rev. J. Teutsch.

In 1935 Trinity and St. Paul's were incorporated into one congregation. A Finnish Lutheran congregation also used the facilities of Trinity until December, 1947, when the Finns moved to the basement of their new church, then under construction. During the pastorate of Wm. Nolting the Trinity congregation built a new church which was dedicated October 30, 1949. At that time the membership was 240 confirmed. The pastorates were: H. Shildroth, 1925-1929; N. Keffer, 1929-1933; O. Reble, 1937-1945; Wm. Nolting, 1945-1951; S. F. M. Friedrichsen, 1951-⁴⁶

A group of Siebenburger-Saxons formed a new settlement near

Paincourt, Ontario, in the late thirties. These were served by Otto Reble, from Windsor. A chapel was made possible by Mr. John Derbecker of Kitchener, who had encouraged the Lutherans to settle here. He provided the building materials with which the members constructed the chapel. St. Peter's, Paincourt, was organized in 1939, and served by the pastors residing at Windsor for eighteen years. Under the guidance of Pastor Friedrichsen of Windsor a Lutheran service was arranged to be held in Leamington, November 18, 1956. One hundred and seventy-six people attended this first service, with the result that a congregation was organized immediately. It was associated with St. Peter's, Paincourt, in a parish and served by J. C. Clausen-Mohr until 1960.

AYLMER

To the tobacco-growing area in and about Aylmer, people of the Lutheran faith came, and settled in the late thirties of the present century. After World War II refugees from Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Germany, Hungary, Austria, and Yugoslavia came in fairly large numbers. Nearby was a Royal Canadian Air Force Station where Lutheran youth were among the personnel. Occasionally, from 1938 to 1944, Lutheran services were conducted by Dr. John Reble. From November, 1944, a monthly service was held in the town hall. The Rev. John Mangelsen was the first resident pastor. On May 2, 1946, St. John's congregation was organized. The Ryckman residence, located on the main highway, was purchased and renovated to serve as a house chapel. Pastor Mangelson resigned in 1950, and St. John's was ministered to by supply pastor, Dr. A. B. Little. The Rev. Fred Haak was installed August 26, 1951. During his pastorate of nine years the congregation made splendid progress. A property was purchased from Mr. R. Thompson, which included a house and four acres of land. A new church was dedicated April 26, 1953.⁴⁷ On the altar was placed a parament of artistic beauty, and having on it hand embroidery of Psalm 37: 5. "Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him; and He shall bring it to pass." The parament has a history. It was made by a devout Rumanian grandmother for her church. Forced to flee before the Russians, the grandmother, her daughter and three grandchildren set out in a wagon drawn by two horses. When near the

border of Austria, a bomber dropped its bombs. The grandmother was killed. In her hand she clasped the parament, somewhat shrapnel-torn and stained with blood. When the family finally settled in Aylmer the grandmother's wish was fulfilled. The parament was donated to St. John's Church.

About one hundred members withdrew from the Missouri Lutheran congregation in Fisherville and requested the Canada Synod to provide them with a pastor. Redeemer Lutheran church was organized in 1951. The Rev. S. Cooper was their first resident pastor 1952-1953. During his pastorate a church was built. Pastor Cooper died June 22, 1953. His successor was the Rev. Walter Goos, 1954-1960.

KITCHENER

In an earlier chapter reference was made to the Rev. F. W. Bindemann and his thirty-year ministry to the Lutherans in Kitchener. It is difficult to understand how this universalist and rationalist held the Lutherans within his fold for so many years. The Rev. Albert Orzen, in an anniversary booklet of St. Paul's, Kitchener, suggests a reason when he states: "Toward the close of the third decade of the eighteenth century, rationalism had swept over Germany in an overwhelming flood. Reason was the norm by which everything was to be judged. In France, Voltaire and Rousseau advocated crass unbelief and skepticism, and this rationalism went a long way in preparing the outbreak of the French Revolution in the year 1789, which abrogated Christianity and God. Rationalism and enlightenment pervaded all of Europe. An unbounded skepticism was abroad which treated the church as something to be maligned." Rationalist preachers like Bindemann were not uncommon at that time, and many of the people had been inoculated with the same virus making them almost immune to true Christianity.

The philosophy of that time was brought by immigrants to Canada. However, among those who settled in Waterloo county there were many who had not bowed their knee to the goddess of reason. Evidence of this was manifest when Pastor J. H. Bernheim visited the district in 1835. Further evidence was given by the congregations in Waterloo, Preston, and elsewhere in the county when one after another they refused the ministrations of Bindemann.

A large group of members separated from St. Paul's in 1862 and

petitioned the recently organized Canada Synod to send them a pastor. In November of that year the Rev. C. F. A. Kaessman, then serving the Canada Synod congregation at Sebastopol (Tavistock); conducted a Sunday School in the Town Hall at Kitchener. Within two months, *St. Peter's* Lutheran congregation was organized, January 1, 1863. On July 19th, a new church building was dedicated. During the pastorate of Kaessman, 1863-1869, the Canada Synod met in convention at St. Peter's in 1864 and again in 1869. From Kitchener, Kaessman served St. James', Elmira, until 1868. The congregation which had 480 communicant members, 1867, soon outgrew the original edifice. Under Herman Sagehorn, 1870-1877, plans were made for a new church, the cornerstone of which was laid May 21, 1877. Both Kaessman and Sagehorn served the small congregation in Mannheim during their pastorates at St. Peter's and Sagehorn dedicated a new church at Mannheim, 1873. The Rev. R. Von Pirch, who had served First Lutheran, Toronto, for five years was the next pastor, 1882-1905. The Canada Synod met for the third time in St. Peter's, 1882, in which year the congregation had 900 confirmed members and Pastor Von Pirch was the secretary of synod.⁴⁸ Von Pirch established the monthly, *Lutherische Friedensbote*, 1883, and was largely responsible for starting the weekly, *Deutsche Zeitung*, 1891. During his pastorate a pipe organ was installed, a parsonage purchased, and twelve bells bearing the names of the apostles were dedicated. Kern of Preston and Von Pirch were members of the short-lived New York and Canada Ministerium, 1886-1890⁴⁹. W. L. Mackenzie King (for many years Prime Minister of Canada) attended occasionally the English service during this pastorate. Von Pirch died March 19, 1905, and was succeeded by A. Oberlander, 1905-1914. The longest pastorate was served by Dr. Herman A. Sperling, 1914-1940. An Italian marble altar was purchased for the sanctuary, a parish hall erected, an illuminated and revolving cross was placed in the tower, and a new parsonage built. Pastor Sperling died on May 6, 1940. The Rev. Albert Lotz has been in charge of St. Peter's since that date. Under his guidance St. Peter's has grown to be the largest congregation in Canada numbering 3,500 baptized members. In part, the recent growth is due to a large influx of German immigrants who have been ministered to in their native language. Services in the Estonian language are also held periodically.

C. F. A. Kaessman, first pastor of St. Peter's, Kitchener, was licensed by the Pittsburgh Synod, 1856, and in the same year was called to Trinity, Tavistock, where he served Tavistock and East Zorra for five years until his ordination in 1861. He continued there for one more year and then moved to Kitchener where he served St. Peter's until 1869. Along with St. Peter's he ministered regularly to the Lutherans at Elmira and Mannheim, and supplied St. Jacob's.

On February 23, 1904, a large group of Kitchener Lutherans assembled in a hall to organize *St. Matthew's* Lutheran Church. Many of these had formerly been members of the St. Peter's congregation. The first service was held March 6th, in the County Court House with Dr. Emil Hoffman, president of the Canada Synod in charge. Dr. Hoffman, then pastor of St. Paul's, Hamilton, was called as the first pastor. The enrolment was 579 souls. A Methodist church, on Queen Street North, was purchased, also a parsonage on Alma Street. The growth of St. Matthew's was so rapid that by 1912 initial plans were being made for the erection of a new church. In the same year Dr. Hoffman resigned and accepted a call to First Lutheran, Toronto. Later, Dr. Hoffman, while president of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, was a frequent guest preacher at St. Matthew's. When he died, April 11, 1926, the funeral service was held in this church which he had founded.

Dr. C. R. Tappert, was the second pastor. He came from Meriden, Connecticut, in January, 1913. An able scholar, learned theologian and efficient administrator, he guided the congregation in the erection of a new church, and this at a time when World War I caused many problems for German-speaking people. The cornerstone was laid, May 24, 1914, and the new church was dedicated March 7, 1915. The building is noted for its beauty, chaste architecture, and utility.

A brief pastorate was served by C. Zarnke, 1915-1917. Being a Canadian-born citizen and a man of unflinching courage, he held the helm firmly during the war years. Due to failing health Zarnke resigned at the end of 1917 to accept a call to a smaller congregation in Sullivan Township.

For the next four months the pulpit was supplied by M. G. W. Arendt.

The fourth pastor, Dr. John Schmieder, served St. Matthew's for forty years. He is a son of Heinrich Schmieder, pioneer pastor in Western Canada. Dr. Schmieder came to St. Matthew's, May 1, 1918, the congregation then numbering 1,700. The enrolment increased by 1,000 in the next ten years, and by 1958 the total number of souls was 3,336. For many years St. Matthew's congregation was the largest Lutheran church in Canada. Recently it was surpassed by St. Peter's, Kitchener, St. Matthew's holding to an all-English program of service, while St. Peter's took into its fold a large group of German immigrants who worship separately but are enrolled in its membership.

In 1921 the debt on the church was liquidated. A bell weighing 6,000 pounds was installed in the church tower in 1924. Since 1930 the morning service has been broadcast. A four-manual organ was dedicated in 1944. The constant growth of the Sunday School resulted in the erection of a Church House, dedicated October 19, 1952. The building was designed by T. Norman Mansell, distinguished Lutheran architect. It includes a fellowship hall seating 450, a chapel and fifteen classrooms. The building forms a quadrangle with a central courtyard garden.

Dr. Schmieder served for many years as president of the Board of Governors of Waterloo College and Seminary. He was a delegate representing the United Lutheran Church at the Lutheran World Federation held in Lund, Sweden, June, 1947, and has served as a member of the Board of American Missions and the U.L.C.A. Court of Adjudication. During his pastorate in Kitchener, eighteen young men from St. Matthew's have been ordained for service in the Lutheran ministry. In 1959, Dr. Schmieder became pastor emeritus and Frederick Zinck was installed as pastor.⁵⁰

St. Mark's has been referred to in connection with the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Central Canada. Because of the increasing demand for an entirely English Lutheran Church, St. Mark's (First English) was organized February 2, 1913, by M. J. Bieber. The first service had been held in Concordia Hall, June 16, 1912. The former church home of St. Matthew's congregation was purchased and the Rev. H. J. Behrens was installed as the first pastor, June 29, 1913. In 1917 the congregation reported an enrolment of 580 baptized members. Dr. Jacob Maurer, then president of the

Synod of Central Canada, came to St. Mark's in 1918 and as a fruit of his consecrated and faithful ministry of seventeen years, the membership materially increased and the congregational life was strengthened. His activities extended beyond his parish and he was recognized as a leader of Lutheranism both in the Twin Cities and throughout the province of Ontario.

In 1935 the Rev. Albert Jacobi came to St. Mark's from Nova Scotia where he had served the Conquerall Parish and Rose Bay. The same year, action was taken by the congregation to relocate, and a new site was purchased on King Street next to the Kitchener-Waterloo hospital. The new church was dedicated on February 5, 1939, and it was then that the name was changed from First English to St. Mark's. The new site proved to be a fruitful mission field. During the eighteen years that Dr. Jacobi was pastor the membership increased to 1,577. A parish hall was built in 1951, and other major improvements followed. In 1952, Dr. Jacobi was elected to the presidency of the Canada Synod, and was succeeded in St. Mark's by the Rev. Frank Jensen who served the parish very acceptably until 1958. John Zimmerman is the present incumbent.⁵¹

In 1939 a survey was made of the area east of Kitchener along the Preston Highway. It included Shantz, Sunnyside, Centreville, and Freeport.⁵² The first service was held December 24, 1939, conducted by Homer Berner, a senior student at Waterloo Seminary. St. Luke's was organized September 8, 1940. Candidate Berner was ordained September 22nd, and was called as the first pastor. A church was built the following year on the north-east corner of Delroy Avenue on the Preston-Kitchener highway. St. Luke's continued to grow under succeeding pastors: A. J. Datars, F. Zinck, and K. Knauff⁵². In 1958, as a result of missionary effort by Pastor Knauff, a daughter congregation, St. Philip's, was organized in the same general area but on the opposite side of the highway. The first pastor of St. Philip's was Donald Stewart.

Following a survey of the Highland Road area of Kitchener, the Rev. Alvin J. Baetz was called, in 1948, to develop a congregation. St. Stephen's was organized March 20, 1949. The present parsonage and three adjoining lots on the corner of Shoemaker and Highland Road East were purchased. The new church was consecrated

September 14, 1952. In ten years, under its first pastor, St. Stephen's has developed into a congregation of 600 baptized members.

The youngest Canada Synod mission in Kitchener was developed by the Rev. Paul Eydt. The initial service was held on September 11, 1955, in the basement chapel of the parsonage at 44 Cambridge Avenue. The Church of the Reformation was organized Easter Sunday 1956. Five years later a church was built on the corner of Krug and Cambridge streets.

The first service in the Westmount section of Waterloo was held September 9, 1956, by the Rev. Delton Glebe, mission developer. Mt. Zion was organized January 27, 1957. One hundred and fifty members of St. John's, Waterloo, residing in this area, transferred their membership to this mission, resulting in a charter membership of 223 confirmed. The first unit of the church plant was completed in 1961.

St. Paul's, Bridgeport, had its beginning in the fifties of the last century. It was re-organized by the Rev. Jacob Hoelsche in 1861 and was served from Waterloo, 1861-1876; from Elmira, 1876-1882; from Preston, 1882-1887. The Rev. Julius Badke was the pastor, 1888-1889, during whose pastorate a church was built. Prior to that date the congregation worshipped in the "Bridgeport Free Church," a building available to all Christians. From 1889-1948 St. Paul's was served by pastors residing in Conestoga. In 1939, under Pastor S. J. Wittig of Conestoga, a basement was added and the church was enlarged and modernized. When the Rev. Alvin Baetz began the development of St. Stephen's, Bridgeport formed part of his charge. The congregation was then one hundred years old. Progress has been slow.

The second century of service dawned brightly under the leadership of Pastor A. Baetz and burst into a flame when the Rev. Eric Reble became the resident pastor, 1953, and confined his efforts solely to St. Paul's. A new site was purchased, and in 1957 a beautiful church was erected on Lancaster Street to accommodate the congregation which had then grown to 550 baptized members. The Rev. Ralph Huras accepted a call to Bridgeport, 1959.

HAMILTON

In 1858 the Rev. Wm. Berkemeier of the Pittsburgh Synod consulted with the Lutherans in Hamilton and made arrangements for a

church service. The Rev. Charles Rechenberg, of Toronto, held the first service in the Sunday School rooms of the Congregational church, March 21, 1858. *St. Paul's* was organized, April 8, 1858, and served by Rechenberg every four weeks until the Rev. A. Boettger was installed in 1862. In the same year a church was erected at the corner of Bay and Market streets. *St. Paul's* became a member of the Canada Synod and was a mission of that synod until 1874. It was served by A. Boettger, 1862-1865; E. Fischer, 1866; G. Goepf, 1867-1878; G. Schmidt, 1869-1872; C. Schimmel, 1872-1874. The present church and parsonage, built by the primitive Methodists, 1862, was purchased in 1884. For ten years, 1860-1870, *St. Paul's* mothered a small congregation near Watertown. The development was slow but solid during the ministry of C. F. Spady, B. R. Warnske, F. Meyer and G. De Zocher. Dr. Emil Hoffman was installed as the pastor in 1889, from which date the congregation under Dr. Hoffman and his successors has made good progress with the exception of the First World War period. Unquestionably *St. Paul's* would have grown more rapidly had it introduced the English language at an earlier date. Dr. Hoffman was succeeded by H. Rembe Sr., 1904-1920; P. Bechter, 1920-1925, and Dr. John Reble, 1925-1945. It is noteworthy that Hoffman, Rembe, and Reble were, in turn, presidents of the synod while serving *St. Paul's*. Dr. Reble's pastorate was perhaps the most onerous for during those years the synod was expanding and demanded much of his time. During the pastorate of Fred Mueller, 1945-1955, there was a large influx of immigrants from Germany and the Baltic countries. *St. Paul's* began to hold services in English, German, Latvian, and Estonian. A. Gaudins and A. Skrodelis were in charge of the Latvian services, while K. Raudsepp and August Kivisikk ministered to the Estonians. Pastor Mueller had oversight of the multilingual program and at the same time was personally ministering to the New Canadians of German origin. For a few years he had as his assistant the Rev. Arthur Voitkus⁵³.

Milton J. Bieber, field missionary of the General Council, started English mission work at Hamilton in 1909. The first service was held on February 7th, in a hall above the Conservatory of Music. On April 18, 1909, *Trinity Lutheran* congregation was organized with

105 charter members. J. A. Miller was the first pastor, 1909-1914. The church on Victoria Avenue South, was dedicated on September 11, 1910. Among the charter members of this congregation were Fred Otterbein and Ernest Beckman, both of whom became Lutheran ministers. Otterbein was the mission developer and pastor of the North Austin Church, Chicago, which under his guidance became one of the largest churches in the United Lutheran Church of America. J. A. Miller was succeeded by H. A. Kunkle, 1914-1915; E. Huenergard, 1916-1923; H. F. Gruhn, 1923-1925; P. S. Baringer, 1926-1927. A productive and edifying ministry was served by Dr. N. Willison, 1928-1936. He directed an extensive reconstruction program. The interior of the church was entirely rebuilt and a new chancel added. Dr. Willison was very successful in his ministry to the people of Scandinavian origin. Dr. Arthur Mehlenbacher was the next pastor, 1936-1953. The congregation grew numerically and developed in the use of chaste and edifying liturgical forms of worship. An elaborate entrance and board room with surmounting tower was added to the church in 1951⁵⁴.

The same year the Mount Zion Sunday School was started on the "mountain" which later developed into a congregation. The Rev. Paul Eydt was at Trinity when the congregation decided to dissolve for the purpose of forming new missions.

Members of St. Paul's and Trinity were moving to the suburbs. By the end of 1954 five Lutheran congregations were worshipping in the two church buildings. There was much congestion and it appeared that many members then living at a distance from the churches might be lost. With the help of the Home Mission Committee and the Board of American Missions a solution was found, one that entailed dissolution and re-alignment and heartache on the part of some members, but nevertheless a wise solution.

On May 25, 1955, a service of dissolution was held in both Trinity and St. Paul's and on the following Sunday new English Lutheran congregations were organized; Grace Lutheran congregation to serve members in the west end of the city and Faith congregation to serve those residing in the east end.⁵⁵ Faith congregation started with 416 charter members under the Rev. John Miller, and Grace with 242 members under the Rev. Earl Haase. German-speaking

members of St. Paul's took over the old church and re-organized under the name of St. John's with the Rev. Philip Weingartner as pastor. An equitable division of assets of both St. Paul's and Trinity were assigned to the three new congregations. Two Latvian congregations, E. Pavasars, pastor, merged in 1957, and purchased the former Trinity church, wherein the Estonians worship also. The Estonian Lutherans had effected an organization in 1951, and since then have been under the pastoral care of August Kivisikk.

Transfiguration Lutheran Church, located above the escarpment was served by Albert Datars, 1953-1958 and since then by Dr. W. A. Mehlenbacher. An educational unit was erected in 1959.

Each of the new congregations, Grace and Faith Lutheran, erected a new church in 1960.

TORONTO

The parish records of *First Lutheran*, Toronto, reveal that this congregation had its beginning in "the meeting together of several German Lutheran families in each other's homes on Sundays to read a sermon, and for prayer." This was "about Christmas 1850."⁵⁶

Charles F. Diehl, pastor of the Markham-Vaughan parish under date of March, 1851, wrote: "Last week I visited the city of Toronto, and founded a small German congregation." He became their first pastor, organizing First Lutheran Church on August 9, 1951.

The Rev. Jeremiah Fishburn, also from the Markham-Vaughan parish, served First Lutheran 1853-1857 with the exception of a few months in 1856 when Gustav Reiche was in charge. A site on Bond Street was purchased in 1855, and a church with pastor's apartment in the rear was consecrated August 23, 1857. In 1860 the debt on the church almost forced the congregation into liquidation. Miss Elizabeth Van der Smissen made a trip to Europe to appeal for funds and returned with gifts amounting to \$1,800. Henry Van der Smissen was the lay reader conducting services on Sundays when pastors were not available. Van der Smissen was the treasurer of the Canada Synod for twenty-five years.

In October, 1857, *Carl Frederick Rechenberg* accepted a call to Toronto. He was born February 10, 1817, in Prussia, and received his education in Berlin, 1835-1840. Rechenberg arrived in New

York, January 6, 1841, and became a member of the New York Ministerium. For fourteen years he was the pastor of St. John's, Syracuse. In 1855, he was called to First Lutheran, Albany, and from there to Toronto, 1857. From Toronto he founded St. Paul's in Hamilton, 1858. He was elected the first president of the Canada Synod, 1861, in which office he served for three years and for another nine years was the vice-president. In 1870 he went to the Montreal congregation which he served for five years. For several years he was editor of the Canada Synod *Kirchenblatt*. In 1875, Rechenberg returned to the New York Ministerium and, though suffering from ill health, served the Port Chester congregation in West Chester County, N.Y., until his death, December 13, 1877.⁵⁷

The Rev. C. Schimmel, had charge of First Lutheran, 1871-1877, and was followed by R. Von Pirch, 1877-1882. Succeeding pastors were E. Genzmer, 1882-1895; P. W. Mueller, 1895-1908; A. Redderoth, 1908-1913; Emil Hoffmann, 1913-1920; C. F. Christiansen, 1920-1927; Albert Grunwald, 1927-1958; Karl Wulf, 1959- .

The present church was built in 1898, the pipe organ dedicated in 1910, and a new parsonage built on Woodbine Avenue in 1921. Union with St. Paul's took place in 1927.

The Canada Synod met in First Lutheran in 1881, 1901 and 1911.

Since World War II New Canadians have worshipped in First Lutheran. Some have remained as members. Most of them, after being nourished for a short time, founded Latvian, Estonian and German Lutheran congregations.

Redeemer Lutheran, Toronto, was at first a mission of the American Lutheran Church, but it failed to develop under that body. The Canada Synod took over the work in October 1945. The Rev. Henry Opperman was installed July 7, 1946. A lot was purchased on Bloor and Indian Road and a new church was dedicated May 2, 1948. The congregation then had 125 confirmed members. When Pastor Opperman relinquished the charge in 1953, the confirmed membership had increased to over 300.⁵⁸

Under the Rev. Harold Brose, 1953-1957, Redeemer congregation continued to grow but the membership was scattered, many members living far from the church. In September, 1957, members living in the areas where new Lutheran missions were being established were

encouraged to transfer their membership to these missions. At the same time Pastor Brose took charge of the Scarborough Mission and was succeeded in Redeemer by the Rev. Albert Lorch.

St. Philip's in the Islington section of Toronto, Emmanuel in the Scarborough section, and Good Shepherd in North Toronto, began holding services in September, 1957. St. Philip's, under Dr. Carl R. Cronmiller, was organized January 19, 1958. Emmanuel, under Pastor Harold Brose, was organized May 11, 1958, and Good Shepherd, under Pastor Wallace Minke, May 25, 1958. All three erected churches, 1960-1961.

St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, located at the corner of Jarvis and Carlton streets, a large stone structure with a seating capacity of 1,100, and a spacious parish house attached, was purchased in June, 1951, as a house of worship for Latvian and Estonian Lutherans. The name St. Andrew's was retained. Estonian services are conducted by the Rev. O. Pello, and Latvian services by the Rev. A. Cops. Each of these congregations was organized with about 500 members and many adherents. A second Estonian, St. James', was founded in 1951, served by the Rev. August Raidur. Pastor Raidur ministers also to a Swedish Lutheran congregation organized in 1953.

To minister to New Canadians of German origin St. George's congregation was organized in 1954 by the Rev. W. H. Goegginger, and Martin Luther congregation, 1955, by the Rev. Karl Wulf. The present incumbent at Martin Luther is the Rev. Otto Winter.

Shortly after the organization of the Canada Synod a mission was opened in the Muskoka district. For a few years it was served from Toronto by C. F. W. Rechenberg and was known as the Morrison Mission, Simcoe County. W. Baumbach became the first resident missionary. In 1873 he was serving three congregations in Morrison, Draper and Monk townships. The mission was continued, though with very little progress, for about a half a century. When the synod decided to withdraw from the field, the congregation at Germania was taken over by the Missouri Synod, and added to their Parry Sound-Muskoka parish.

OTTAWA

St. John's, Ottawa, was organized by E. Schuelke, October, 1894. The first resident pastor was G. Zocher. A church was built in 1895.

After being served for several years by the Canada Synod pastors this congregation called a pastor from the Joint Synod of Ohio.

Under missionary M. J. Bieber, seventy-five charter members organized St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Ottawa. The date was October 9, 1910. The first resident pastor, John J. Clemens, came to Ottawa in January, 1911. The following year a church site was obtained at the corner of Lyon and Nepean and a new house of worship was dedicated on Easter Sunday, April 12, 1914. Vexing problems arose. Some members were pleased with the church but not with the site and withdrew their membership. The mortgaged indebtedness was too heavy for the small congregation. Pastor Clemens resigned in June, 1915, and for two years St. Peter's was without a resident pastor. Pastors from Morrisburg and Williamsburg conducted occasional services and in the summer months student Sorensen of Waterloo Seminary was in charge. Dr. Bieber returned for a few months in 1917 and assisted the congregation in obtaining another pastor, the Rev. Herbert Siegner. He remained until the end of the year, and again the parish was vacant.

A veteran pastor, Luther M. McCreery, accepted their call in July, 1919. The membership had dropped to forty. The holders of the mortgage were threatening to foreclose. A younger man might have advised the congregation to disband. McCreery, a man of deep devotion and firm faith, accepted the challenge. He was granted permission to canvass the Lutheran parishes at Williamsburg and Morrisburg, which resulted in gifts totalling \$850.00, sufficient to meet the immediate financial needs. Luther McCreery continued to guide St. Peter's until August, 1934, when he retired at the venerable age of eighty-five years. Under his leadership the indebtedness was very materially reduced and a small building fund was started.

Under pastors Albert W. Lotz, 1934-1940, and Lloyd Schaus, 1940-1947, the membership increased and the indebtedness was liquidated. Not only to the pastors but also to consecrated laymen of St. Peter's much credit is due. Mr. Linden Shannette canvassed the entire congregation so that the congregation might attain its goal and be debt free on its thirtieth anniversary. A pipe organ was dedicated in 1937, and plans were made during the pastorate of L. Schaus to acquire a new church site.

The Rev. A. F. Conrad was installed July 13, 1947. The following year a prominent and attractive site at the corner of Sparks and Bay was purchased. A gift of \$20,000 from the Canada Synod spurred the congregation to greater sacrifices. The new St. Peter's with adjoining parish hall was built at a cost of \$176,000 and was dedicated on March 28, 1954. The chairman of the building committee was J. Arnt Loa, a veteran member of St. Peter's through its early years of struggle. The Gothic structure of Nepean sandstone is located in the immediate vicinity of imposing government buildings. The Wellington Street Parkway across from the church affords an unobstructed view to the north shore of the Ottawa River and the Laurentian Hills.⁵⁹

DUNDAS COUNTY

Reference has been made to Williamsburg and the founding of St. Peter's congregation by H. Hayunga in 1826. The following year a Union church was built by the Lutherans and Presbyterians on a site now used as the cemetery. Until 1859 St. Peter's was served by the pastors residing at Riverside. On the arrival of A. L. Bridgeman, the Williamsburg congregation formed a separate unit. During a vacancy, the President of the Canada Synod, Jeremiah Fishburn, made frequent trips to Williamsburg and guided the congregation in the erection of a large stone church, 1865, to be used exclusively by the Lutherans. St. Peter's was served by L. Boyer, 1867-1868; J. R. Roth, 1869-1873; Lewis Hippee, 1873-1879; Alois Sommer, 1880-1881; M. H. Fishburn, 1882-1890; George Genzmer, 1890-1892; John Shunk, 1895-1904; Jacob Maurer, 1905-1908; G. A. Feckner, 1908-1910; C. A. Dennig, 1911-1913; Jacob Maurer, 1913-1918; Theo. Iseler, 1919-1927; C. R. Cronmiller, 1927-1943; Wm. Nolting, 1943-1945; George Innes, 1946-1950; Julius Neff, 1950-1951; L. Kirchhofer, 1951-1956; A. Blackwell, 1957.⁶⁰ Dr. John Whittaker was a son of this congregation, as is also Dr. Hugh Whittaker, the latter for many years president of the Nova Scotia Synod. The Frankean Synod contested this field erecting an opposition church at Bouck's Hill, one mile from St. Peter's, but disbanded after twenty years.

A daughter congregation was nurtured by St. Peter's at Dunbar, located about seven miles from the mother church. On July 30, 1879, St. Luke's Lutheran Church was dedicated. With the exception

of a few years when it had its own resident pastor, St. Luke's has been a part of the Williamsburg-Dunbar parish with the pastor residing at Williamsburg. A small congregation in Morewood was linked with the Williamsburg parish for a few years.

J. H. Hunton arrived at Riverside, June, 1861. A new St. John's church was consecrated August 16, 1863. Services were started in Morrisburg, and St. Paul's church was built there, 1876, while J. Fishburn was the supply pastor. His son, M. H. Fishburn, served the Riverside-Morrisburg parish, 1876-1882. Brief pastorates were served by Kinard; J. M. Long; W. L. Genzmer; O. Bartholomew. While S. L. Keller was in charge, 1895-1900, Mrs. T. Dardis donated the present brick parsonage to St. Paul's. J. C. F. Rupp, 1900-1909, stirred the congregation to greater efforts. The St. Lawrence parish separated from the Canada Synod and helped to organize the New York and New England Synod. From Morrisburg, Rupp did exploratory missionary work in Montreal and Toronto which culminated in the organization of Redecmer, Montreal, and St. Paul's, Toronto. George G. Cook, in 1903, bequeathed \$10,000 to St. John's, and \$4,000 to St. Paul's as a perpetual endowment. Under L. M. McCreery, 1909-1914, the parish helped to organize the Synod of Central Canada. Dr. C. H. Little was in charge 1914-1917, and was followed by J. F. Bermon, H. C. Kraft, and E. Macder. For five years, 1925-1930, Dr. Albert Jacobi rendered a forceful ministry. Dr. W. A. Mehlenbacher came in 1931. A new parish hall was built in Morrisburg, and in June 1934, a cairn with surmounting cross was erected at Riverside to mark the 150th anniversary of St. John's.⁶¹ His successors were: S. W. Gartung, 1936-1938; Dr. A. F. Buehlow, 1938-1944; N. Berner 1945-1946. The present incumbent, Major Ferdinand Howald came in 1946. To make way for the St. Lawrence Seaway development, St. John's church was demolished and a new St. John's was built at Riverside Heights, 1958. The old parsonage was moved to Upper Canada Village, restored to its original appearance, and took an honored place among the historic buildings which form that village.

MONTREAL

In the chapter on the Canada Conference an account has been given of the organization and early development of St. John's,

Montreal. Brief reference has been made elsewhere to the Latvians and Estonians, and to the Finnish congregation in that city.

Among the baptisms recorded in St. John's, Montreal, for the year 1855 is one "Philippine Charlotte Krieghoff," a relative of the famous German Canadian artist. In September, 1865, Pastor Werner returned to Germany. His successors at St. John's were: C. H. Koehler, 1865-1869; Friedrich Schoeppe, 1869-1870; C. F. W. Rechenberg, 1870-1875; Dr. Alfred Sommer, 1875-1880; Hasskarl, Braunworth, and Ongerth till 1884; H. Warnke, 1885-1892. A revived spirit and greater progress was evident during the ministry of Friedrich Riedel, 1892-1903. The Rev. Emil Jestinsky came in 1903. The old church on St. Dominique Street was sold and the present church at the corner of Jeanne Mance and Prince Arthur streets was erected and dedicated in 1908. Pastor Jestinsky left Montreal in 1920. The next pastor was Philip Lamartine who served until 1939. At that time the congregation was struggling with financial problems, burdened by a large mortgage and other indebtedness. It had been an independent Lutheran congregation for eighty-six years. With the arrival in 1939 of the Rev. John Peters, a Canada Synod pastor, St. John's witnessed the dawning of a new day. Slowly, but progressively, he led the congregation to a position of prominence and greater service. He and his church became a friend in time of need to many immigrants who came to Canada following World War II. In 1953 St. John's celebrated its hundredth anniversary. At that time its membership had grown to 400 families.⁶²

St. John's encouraged the formation of another Lutheran church to minister to New Canadians. In October, 1955, the Rev. H. W. Luetkehoelter began the survey. He organized St. Paul's Lutheran church, May 26, 1957. In 1960 this congregation reported 200 confirmed members on the roll. Heinz Dahle is the present pastor.

In response to an appeal from several English-speaking families in Montreal, a visit was made to that city by the Rev. J. C. F. Rupp, then pastor at St. Paul's, Morrisburg. At frequent intervals he held services for them and also invited Dr. Kuntzmann of the Central Council to visit this promising field. Dr. M. J. Bieber, eastern field missionary of the General Council organized the *Redeemer* congregation on January 15, 1905. The first services were held in Stanley Hall

and Karn Hall. Two properties were purchased as possible church sites, one on Mountain Street and the other at 19 Essex Avenue. Each of these in turn, served as a place of worship for a few years. In 1912, the Bethlehem Congregational church in Westmount, at the corner of Western and Clarke Avenue was acquired. This valuable property has served as the home of the congregation until the present time. Redeemer congregation has produced leaders in women's work not only locally but for the synod. Mrs. J. C. Casselman, first president of the synodical W.M.S., was a member of Redeemer. The members of this congregation also initiated action leading to the establishment of a Lutheran Hospice and for years invoked synod to do more work among the immigrants.⁶³ The list of pastors is: C. H. Beck, 1905-1909; J. J. May, 1909-1910; H. J. Croushore, 1910-1912; W. H. Lauer, 1912-1913; J. Keehley, 1914-1915; P. Lamartine, 1917-1918; C. S. Roberts, 1920-1923; M. O. Heller, 1924-1927; G. Innes, 1927-1935; F. C. Mueller, 1936-1942; J. F. Neudoerffer, 1942-1954; Wm. Nolting, 1955- .

Lachine is in the Lakeshore area of the Island of Montreal. For several years Lutheran people had been moving from the city to this area. The Board of American Missions sent the Rev. F. W. Zinck to Lachine in February, 1955. The first services were held in the Y.M.C.A. Our Saviour Lutheran church was organized March 25, 1956. During Zinck's pastorate plans were made for the erection of a church. Under the Rev. Alvin Schweitzer, who came in 1959, and with capable guidance of Mr. Wm. Hartwig, the church was built, dedication being on December 20, 1959.

WOODSTOCK

The Home Mission Committee of the Canada Synod manifested an interest in Woodstock in the fall of 1929. Pastor J. Vorkoper, E. Fischer, and E. Sterz were in charge of the services. The Rev. George Orth was the first regularly called pastor, 1934-1937. Bethany Lutheran Church was organized as a congregation December 10, 1934. Until 1936 church services were held in the Memorial Chapel on Dundas Street. From 1936-1951 all congregational activities were centred in a house chapel purchased by the congregation, and located near the library and registry building at 62 Graham Street. In 1951

the house chapel was demolished to make way for a new church, which church was consecrated June 22, 1952, during the pastorate of Alvin Schweitzer. After the resignation of Rev. Orth in 1937, Bethany, Woodstock, was served by J. S. Neff, 1937-1940; N. A. Berner, 1940-1945; A. A. Schweitzer, 1945-1953. In 1953, Woodstock was separated from Brantford to become part of the Woodstock-East Zorra parish, served by Earl Anderson, 1953-1957, and Norman Lange, 1957-1960.⁶⁴

SUDBURY

Sudbury is one of the few cities located in the great horseshoe of rock which makes up the Precambrian Canadian Shield. This shield, which for many years was considered to be a great handicap to Canada's development, has proven to be the treasurehouse of copper, nickel, iron, cobalt, titanium, and uranium, which have transformed Canada from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

In Sudbury, the centre of the nickel industry, Christ Lutheran Mission was organized by the Rev. H. Rembe in April, 1942. In the same year the Rev. Alvin Baetz was called as the first resident pastor. A parsonage was erected and services were held in the Anglican Chapel of the Resurrection. The Rev. S. Cooper was the second pastor, 1946-1952. On September 7, 1947, a house chapel was dedicated in which the congregation worshipped until January, 1954, when the chapel was destroyed by fire. The Rev. Harold Gram was in charge, 1953-1956. A new church of contemporary design was dedicated, March 13, 1955. The Rev. Henry Nuhn was called to Christ, Sudbury, in February, 1957. During his pastorate the membership increased to 300 confirmed in 1960.⁶⁵

In 1892 the Canada Synod invited the Buffalo Synod pastors, and the pastors of the Canada District, Missouri Synod to a *free conference* with a view to closer fellowship. The Buffalo Synod pastors refused to participate largely due to recent controversies between Buffalo and Missouri. However, two or three such conferences were held. At the first meeting, nineteen pastors of the Canada Synod and sixteen pastors of the Missouri Synod were present. At a second conference three Canada Synod and nine Missouri pastors participated. The *Lutheran Witness* of the Missouri Synod in reporting these conferences, commented "We should not be surprised if our

brethren in Canada and quite a number of ministers now members of the Canada Synod would gradually come to agree and unite on a basis of the Synodical Conference." Being of the opinion that this comment expressed the purpose of the Missouri pastors, the Canada Synod pastors withdrew after the next conference.⁶⁶

Under the Rev. H. Sander, an Orphan and Old Folks Home was started in Wellesley, Ontario, 1893. Though a private undertaking, it received some support from congregations of the Canada Synod, and was listed among the Orphan Homes of the General Council. After functioning for three or four years the home was discontinued.⁶⁷ Some support was given also to the Nova Scotia Lutheran Orphans' Home.

Though the Western Canada Mission will be dealt with more fully in Vol. II, a brief account merits a place in this chapter. The Rev. F. Veit, president of the Canada Synod, received an urgent call from German settlers in Western Canada. In the late fall of 1888 he made a journey to Winnipeg and in that city organized Trinity Church, December, 1888. Through the Mission Committee of Synod a call was extended to the Rev. Heinrich C. Schmieder, then assistant pastor of St. Paul's in Philadelphia. Schmieder accepted the call, sold his furniture to help pay for the trip, and on February 18th, with his wife and child arrived in Winnipeg. His first service was held on February 21, 1889, in the Sunday School room of St. Andrew's Presbyterian church.⁶⁸

So promising were his reports that in two years' time four missionaries of the Canada Synod were laboring in Western Canada: Louis Streich at Winnipeg, Emil Berthold at Langenburg and Beresina, Saskatchewan, H. C. Schmieder at Edenwald, Saskatchewan, and F. Pempeit, Stony Plain, near Edmonton, Alberta. Financial aid was received from the German Home Mission Board of the General Council. At first this aid was granted to the Mission Committee of the Canada Synod, which committee paid the missionaries. At the meeting of Synod in June, 1890, it was unanimously resolved:

1. That the entire management of the North-West Mission, including the calling and appointment of missionaries, be committed to the German Mission Committee of the General Council.

2. That those missionaries and their churches shall connect themselves with the Canada Synod and be under its discipline.⁶⁹

When the number of missionaries in Western Canada increased, and because of the long distance, which made it impossible for them to attend conferences in Ontario, the North-West Conference of the Canada Synod was organized, and functioned until 1897, in which year, upon the advice of the Canada Synod and German Home Mission Committee, the Manitoba Synod was organized. The synod was formed with six pastors, 52 congregations and preaching stations, having 5,250 baptized and 3,000 confirmed members.

The Rev. Heinrich Schmieder made long missionary trips to the north and west over rough roads and trails to Saskatchewan and Alberta, where he conducted services at Langenburg, Edenwald, Strasburg and Josephsburg. He reported that on one trip he slept in a sod hut, with a wooden bench for his bed, and a sheep-skin for a cover. In June, 1890, he moved to Edenwald where he added to his already large parish, preaching stations at Neudorf, Davin, Kronau, and Rosthern.

CENTRAL CANADA SYNOD

For more than a century the congregations at Riverside and Williamsburg in Dundas County have used the English language exclusively. Closely following them in adopting the English language were the congregations at Sherwood and Unionville in York County. In the earlier years of their history the Dundas County congregations were members of the New York Ministerium. When the Canada Synod was organized, though it was predominantly German, these English congregations united with that Synod. The names of Pastors J. Hunton and H. Hayunga of Williamsburg Township are to be found on the clerical list of the Canada Synod almost from the beginning of that body, while the other English district in York county was the very scene of the synod's organization. It can well be understood that while the pastors of these English-speaking parishes were at home with their brethren at the synodical meeting, the lay delegates were confused by a language which they did not understand. In 1896, an English district of the Canada Synod was formed. Six years later, the four English congregations in Dundas county, under pastors Rupp and Shunk withdrew from the Canada Synod to help organize the Synod of New York and New England, September 23-25, 1902. This new synod at

its organization meeting consisted of thirty-four English parishes, formerly part of the New York Ministerium and the two parishes in Canada.⁷⁰

While pastor in Morrisburg, the Rev. J. C. F. Rupp held the first English Lutheran service in Montreal, February 8, 1903, and in 1906, conducted English Lutheran services in Toronto, where he organized, in October of that year, St. Paul's Lutheran Church. Rupp heartily supported the proposal that a field missionary should be called to explore the territory of the New York and New England Synod, and his congregation at Morrisburg was the first to pledge \$75.00 per year toward the support of such a missionary, upon the condition that he commence his work in Montreal.

The Rev. M. J. Bieber was called by the English Home Mission Committee of the General Council. He commenced his labors in Montreal, Quebec, where he organized Redeemer Lutheran Church, February, 1905. St. Paul's, Toronto, was under his pastoral care until 1907, when that congregation called its first resident pastor, the Rev. E. H. Boettger. In 1907, the field missionary started English services in St. Matthew's, Brantford, which three years earlier had been organized as a German mission by J. Badke of the Canada Synod. In the same year, he started to hold services in Galt and Guelph, which resulted in the organization of St. Paul's, Galt, and St. Paul's, Guelph. In 1908, Bieber was invited to conduct occasional services in Holy Trinity Church, Humberstone (Port Colborne), which had been organized, 1903, and served by J. A. Huegli of the English Missouri Synod. Upon departure of Huegli, this congregation had applied to the New York and New England Synod for a pastor. Trinity, Hamilton, is another fruit of the energetic labors of Dr. Bieber. Services were held by him in Hamilton, 1909; Ottawa, 1910; (St. Mark's) Kitchener, 1912-1913; Welland, 1913-1914; Halifax, 1914-1915.

In 1908, the following resolution was presented to the Canada Synod and to the New York and New England Synod:

Whereas, there is not an English Lutheran Synod, except the Nova Scotia Synod, in the entire Dominion of Canada to care for the English interests of our General Council, therefore, we, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Canada Synod and also the Synod of New

York and New England, both belonging to the General Council, to give us their sanction, blessing and co-operation toward the organization of an English Lutheran Synod, which is to be connected with the General Council, for the better care of the English Lutheran work, especially in Eastern Canada.⁷¹

This request was granted by both synods, the Canada Synod complying with the understanding that certain conditions would be adhered to.

The Synod of Central Canada was temporarily organized on November 11, 1908, in St. Paul's Church, Guelph, Ontario, the Rev. H. A. Kunkle, pastor, at a convention called by the eastern field missionary. A permanent organization was effected in St. Paul's Church, Toronto, the Rev. W. C. Miller, pastor, May 26, 1909, by the adoption of a constitution based on that of the Synod of New York and New England. Thirteen congregations and eleven pastors constituted the synod. Three pastors and two congregations applied for ordination at Guelph, June 11, 1909. Officers elected were M. J. Bieber, president; H. A. Kunkle, secretary; Mr. C. H. Fierheller, treasurer. In connection with this first meeting of synod, a synodical Women's Missionary Society was organized, and a Lutheran Layman's Movement. Plans were also discussed for the organizing of a theological seminary, which plans, considerably revised and augmented, were later carried to completion with the co-operation of the Canada Synod.⁷²

Reviewing the sixteen years, 1909-1925, of its history, it may be noted that the synod took a keen interest in its young people, through the Luther League of Canada, which had been organized 1908. Of the thirteen charter societies of the Luther League of Canada, no less than ten were from the English Lutheran congregations of the Central Canada Synod. New congregations were organized in Ottawa, 1910, Kitchener (First English), 1913, and Sault Ste. Marie. St. Matthew's, Welland, was revived by Missionary Bieber, 1913-1914. An interest was taken and some support granted to the Bethany Orphans' Home in Nova Scotia and the Lutheran Seamen's Home and Hospice at Montreal, Quebec, and the Dorchester Home in the same city. Congregations at Sherwood, Preston and Hespeler were affiliated with the synod through their pastors, who were members of the synod.

An official synodical paper, *The Canada Lutheran*, began publication in 1912 which has continued as a monthly without interruption, and is now the official synodical paper of the Canada Synod. During World War I, 163 young men from this small synod served with the Canadian forces. As a member of the General Council the Central Canada Synod entered the United Luthereran Church in 1918. Between 1922 and 1924, a joint committee from the Central Canada Synod and the Canada Synod met on seven occasions to discuss and formulate plans for merger. These discussions came to fruition in the merger which took place at Tavistock, Ontario, June 12, 1925, the merged synod retaining the name of the older body, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada.

Dr. Milton J. Bieber was born in a farm home near Kutztown, Pa., on January 13, 1862. He prepared himself for the teaching profession and for a few years was principal of the Bernville, Pa., high school. He graduated from Muhlenberg College in 1891, and from Mt. Airy Seminary, 1894. Dr. Bieber served pastorates at Mt. Joy, Pa. (1894-1897) and Binghamton, N.Y. (1897-1904). The General Council called him to become its eastern field missionary in 1904. He organized congregations in Montreal, 1905; Hartford, Conn., 1906; Galt and Brantford, 1907; Guelph, 1908; Hamilton (Trinity), 1909; Ottawa, 1910; Kitchener (St. Mark's), 1913. During nine years he also aided in the organization of the Luther League of Canada, was the first president (1909-1912) of the Central Canada Synod, and assisted in organizing the seminary at Waterloo. From 1919-1927 he was the missionary superintendent of the Synod of the Northwest. After serving Pacific Seminary and the Philadelphia Seminary as financial field agent he returned to service under the Board of American Missions in 1937, and served in the mission field until his eighty-fourth year. In all he organized thirty-four mission congregations. Dr. Bieber died in 1949, the oldest and best-known missionary in the United Lutheran Church.⁷³

The *Rev. Jacob Maurer*⁷⁴ was born at Erbsville, Ontario, October 24, 1859. His parents were John Henry and Anna Martha (née Schmidt) Maurer. He received his early education at Rostock, Listowel, and Stratford, Ontario. In 1881 he entered Thiel College, Greenville, Pa., graduating in May, 1885, with degree of B.A. In May,

1888, he graduated from the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, Pa. On May 28 of the same year, he was ordained by the Canada Synod at Zurich, Ontario. Dr. Maurer served for sixteen years in Nova Scotia: Mahone Bay Parish (twelve preaching points), 1888-1897; Rose Bay Parish, three congregations, 1898-1904; Williamsburg, Ontario, two congregations, 1905-1908; Unionville, Ontario, two congregations, 1908-1913; Williamsburg, Ontario, 1913-1918; First Lutheran (St. Mark's), Kitchener, 1918-1935. During his pastorate in Nova Scotia the parsonage was built in Mahone Bay, and the beautiful church at Middle La Have in the Rose Bay Parish. He was the first president of the Nova Scotia Synod. While he was at Williamsburg, the large and commodious parsonage was built. At Unionville, during his pastorate, the church in the country was torn down and re-erected in the village of Unionville. He was a leader in the organization of the Synod of Central Canada, and served as secretary of that synod, 1909-1912, and president from 1912-1925. At the merger meeting of the two synods, 1925, he was elected vice-president of the Canada Synod. In 1920, the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Thiel College. He served on the Board of Governors of Waterloo College and Seminary from its inception until 1928 and was the president of the board for many years. He was a member of the English Home Mission Board of the General Council and for a time was a member of the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church. During his pastorate in Kitchener, his congregation grew from a membership of 273 to 660. He was a man of faith and courage, who did much to promote the work of the church in the English language. Dr. Maurer died on Good Friday, April 11, 1941, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, Kitchener, Ontario. His entire ministry of nearly fifty years was given to the church in Canada. He ranks with the pioneers and patriarchs. His counsel was frequently sought and respectfully considered.

At this point a few cities are mentioned to which the Central Canada Synod directed its attention.

Lutheran services were held occasionally in *Brantford* as early as 1863-1873. During that period, the Canada Synod had a small congregation near Delhi, with which were linked Princeton and

Brantford. During the fall of 1903, services were held in Willard Hall by F. Loeb and Dr. Emil Hoffmann. The first resident pastor was the Rev. Julius Badke, under whose leadership St. Matthew's was organized, February 7, 1904. Pastor Badke conducted most of the services in German, which language restricted his appeal in that particular city. When, three years later, Badke accepted a call to Auburn, Dr. Milton Bieber visited the city, re-organized the congregation, and held the first all-English service, July 14, 1907. H. J. Croushore was the pastor, 1908-1910, followed by student N. Willison, 1911-1913. From 1914-1916, Mr. Fred Otterbein, conducted the services under the direction of his pastor, J. A. Miller of Hamilton. The Rev. A. A. Zinck was in charge 1917-1919. During his pastorate, a site was purchased at the corner of King and Nelson streets, and plans were made for the building of a church. The church was built while A. C. E. Grotke was in charge, 1920-1922, and was dedicated February 21, 1921. Grotke's successors were L. Kalbfleisch, 1923-1924; C. R. Cronmiller, 1925-1927; F. Sterz, 1927-1930; V. Monk, 1931-1933; H. G. Twietmeyer, 1933-1938; N. Berner, 1938-1944. During Pastor Berner's term of office, Bethany Lutheran at Woodstock was united with St. Matthew's to form a parish. The Rev. A. A. Schweitzer was in charge 1945-1954. In 1950, the property of the church of the Nazarene on Brant Avenue was acquired as a site for a new church. The present church was dedicated April 20, 1952. The following year St. Matthew's separated from Bethany, Woodstock. The Rev. E. Heimrich served the congregation 1955-1960, and was succeeded by the Rev. R. Binhammer.⁷⁵

In the summer of 1907, M. J. Bieber made a survey of *Galt*. In a two days' canvass he found seventy-four Lutherans. On July 14th, the first service was held in the Adventists church on Rose street at which eighty-six persons were present. For a few months Rev. Croushore was in charge. The Rev. J. A. Miller was the first resident pastor. He arrived in February, 1908. The congregation outgrew its place of worship and went to Frasers Hall on Dickson Street, where services were held for about four years. The Rev. P. C. Wike served St. Paul's 1910-1915. In 1911 a property on North Street was purchased. It had been built as a Wesleyan Methodist church and later used as an armoury. The first Lutheran service was held there

January 21, 1912, and the same building with some later remodelling was the Lutheran house of worship for forty-nine years. Pastor Wike left Galt in March, 1915, and was succeeded by Ernest Beckman, 1915-1919; S. Cooper, 1920-1925; James Vorkofer, 1926-1930; Arthur Buehlow, 1933-1937; Norman Keffer, 1938-1941; Harry Lossing, 1941-1947. The Rev. Theodore Iseler has served the longest pastorate. He came to Galt from Port Colborne, 1947. Under his guidance steady progress has been made. His ministry has proven quite effective among New Canadians. At an early date plans were formulated for the building of a new church, which plans materialized when the church was dedicated, December 4, 1960. It is located on Grand Avenue North.⁷⁶

St. Paul's, *Guelph*, like several other congregations, had its origin in the days of Dr. M. J. Bieber. Late in 1907 he held the first Lutheran services in the Royal Templars Hall and in Carnegie Hall. The organization date was January 22, 1908. In the same year the present church building was purchased from the Baptists. The first regular pastor was H. A. Kunkle, one of the founders of the Central Canada Synod and its first secretary. The temporary organization of the Central Canada Synod was in St. Paul's, in November, 1908. The list of pastors is as follows: H. A. Kunkle, John L. Clemens, Robert Durst, Carl Sorenson, H. E. Schildroth, W. A. Mehlenbacher, E. Heimrich, G. P. Endy, G. W. Orth, A. F. Buehlow, Wm. Giller, Elmer Olesen. St. Paul's progress was rather slow but steady. For many years it received mission aid. During the decade 1950-1960 St. Paul's forged ahead, more than doubling its confirmed membership. It is associated in a parish with the Trinity congregation at Shantz Station.⁷⁷

Prior to 1923, several attempts had been made by different racial groups of the Lutheran faith to organize a church in *Sault Ste. Marie*. The first canvass had been made in 1921 by Dr. M. J. Bieber and Dr. W. C. Stump. The following year, Dr. N. Willison made a survey in the interests of the Central Canada Synod, and recommended that a congregation be organized. The Central Canada Synod did not have an available pastor with the result that the field was turned over to the Michigan Synod. Dr. A. B. Garman of that synod presided at the organization in 1923. The Rev. E. E. Spees, then a student at Hama

Divinity College, spent the summers of 1924 and 1925 at the Sault. In December of 1925, the Rev. S. Cooper became the first resident pastor and the congregation joined the Canada Synod. The following year the Scandinavian Mission Hall on John Street was purchased, enlarged, and dedicated as the first house of worship. The congregation started in 1923 with twenty-seven members. Within five years it had over one hundred confirmed members on its roll. In 1960 it reported 252 active confirmed members and 590 baptized members. During the pastorate of Rev. Wm. Giller, on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the congregation, a new church, located on a new site, was dedicated. A feature of the church is its "free-standing" altar. The following have served as pastors: S. Cooper, 1925-1936; E. Heinrich, 1937-1942; Garnet Schultz, 1942-1949; George Innes, 1949-1954; William Giller, 1954-1960.⁷⁸

Mission Developer E. Schwantes began work among New Canadians in Sault Ste. Marie, June, 1959. St. Mark's congregation worships in the church building formerly occupied by Zion Lutheran Church.

On Friday, June 12, 1925, at 2.30 p.m., while the bells of Trinity Church, Tavistock, were pealing forth, the Synod of Central Canada entered the church where the Canada Synod was assembled. Led by Dr. Maurer and forming the procession, were the clergy: L. M. McCreery, P. W. Mueller, C. H. Little, H. F. Gruhn, W. H. Knauff, P. S. Baringer, N. Willison, T. Iseler, A. A. Zinck, S. W. Hirtle, A. Grotke, S. Cooper, A. G. Jacobi, W. A. Schmidt, H. E. Schildroth, M. O. Heller, and candidate C. R. Cronmiller. The lay delegates were: K. McIntosh, J. C. Klachn, F. W. Kischel, Wm. McDonald, A. Summerfeldt, C. F. Whitteker, J. Herman, Jesse Casselman, W. A. Mehlenbacher, and Elzie Barkley. Secretary A. A. Zinck read the following:

We have the honour to inform your honorable body, that at the session of the Synod of Central Canada, held in First English Lutheran Church, Kitchener, Ontario, Friday morning, June 12, 1925, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That this Synod do now adjourn to meet again at 2:30 p.m. in Trinity Lutheran Church, at Sebastopol (Tavistock) to enter into union with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada." The Synod of Central Canada is now present in a body and respectfully awaits your action in this matter."⁷⁹

The Synod of Central Canada was welcomed heartily into the fellowship of the Canada Synod. The election of officers followed: President, J. H. Reble; vice-president, J. Maurer; German secretary, H. Schorten; English secretary, A. A. Zinck; treasurer, E. Holm.

The first president of the merged body was the *Rev. John H. Reble*, who held the office for twenty-eight years, 1925-1953. John Reble was born in Kropp-Schleswig, Germany, December 14, 1887. He entered the pro-seminary at Kropp in 1903, and the seminary in 1906. Dr. Reble was ordained by the Canada Synod, February 10, 1909, and began his ministry in the Denbigh parish.⁸⁰ There, pioneer conditions still prevailed. Referring to his first pastorate, Dr. Reble wrote:

Travelling was by horse and buggy and cutter. A trip to Maynooth required four or five days. If I wanted to serve Plevna, a distance of 25 miles, I had to rise at 5 a.m., feed the horse, leave at six a.m. and return at ten o'clock in the evening.

From 1912-1925, he was pastor of the Linwood parish, and vice-president of the synod, 1923-1925. For many years, Dr. Reble was a member of the Board of Governors of Waterloo College and Seminary. He served several terms on the U.L.C.A. Pension Board and the Board of American Missions. In 1935, the University of Western Ontario conferred on him the Doctor of Divinity degree.

In 1925, Dr. Reble was elected president of the Canada Synod and also served St. Paul's congregation in Hamilton until 1945, when he was inducted as the first full-time president of the synod. Under his leadership, every semblance of division among pastors and congregations of the two former synods disappeared. Within a few years the English language only was spoken on the floor of synod. An average of one new congregation every year was added to the roll, and this despite six years of World War II when immigration ceased. Contributions for the work at home and abroad increased rapidly. The educational institutions at Waterloo experienced marked progress. Under his guidance a spirit of unity prevailed. Little of discipline was required, as his fatherly and understanding personality won affection, respect, and co-operation. Dr. Reble served as chairman of the National Committee for Canada of the Lutheran World Federation, was an official delegate to the L.W.F. convention in Hanover, Germany.

In 1954 he was appointed chaplain to refugees for the Lutheran World Federation with headquarters at Bremen, Germany. He returned to Canada in 1956 and though past the usual age of retirement, he continued to serve at Kitchener, ministering to New Canadians at St. Peter's Lutheran Church. On the occasion of Dr. Reble's retirement from the presidency of synod, Dr. N. Willison paid this tribute:

Four weeks of years! and every year a race
In service of the kingdom nobly run:
In darkness cheerful; steady in the sun:
Maintaining progress in a constant pace.
Not in the strength of self but by God's grace
And to His glory did you serve the Son,
The crucified, achievements you have won
You have ascribed to God. Before His face
Good deeds with lustre shine and sweet content
From His appraisal springs. Your friends accord
The laurel of their gratitude. Your love,
Your guidance, and the time in prayer you spent
For them before the throne of Christ our Lord
Shall be remembered at the court above.

The *Rev. Albert Jacobi, D.D.*, was inducted into office as the second full-time president of the Canada Synod, September 23, 1953. He was the first graduate of Waterloo Seminary to hold that office.⁸¹ Dr. Jacobi graduated from Waterloo in 1921. His first field of service was the Conquerall parish in Nova Scotia. For five years he ministered in the historic Morrisburg-Riverside parish in Ontario. Returning to Nova Scotia he served at Rose Bay until 1935, when he accepted a call to First English (St. Mark's), Kitchener, Ontario. Under Dr. Jacobi's guidance, St. Mark's relocated and built a new church on King Street West. Prior to his induction as president, Dr. Jacobi had been the vice-president of synod for several years, and had served on various boards and committees. It is too early to assess his term of office, but let it be stated that he has given dynamic leadership and that the synod has made good progress.

The office of Assistant to the President was created in 1954. This office is filled by action of and call by the executive committee. The *Rev. Norman Berner* is the current incumbent. He has been of great help to the president, particularly so in the multifarious details of home mission work and the wise administration of the Home Mission

Extension Fund. Previous to assuming the duties of assistant to the president, Pastor Berner was an editor for the United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia, 1946-1950, and manager of the Lutheran Church Supply Store, Kitchener, 1950-1954.

More than thirty missions and preaching stations were added to the roll during the decade, 1950-1960. Reference to such missions located in Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo, Montreal, Leamington, etc., has been made. It may seem to the reader that missions organized so recently belong to current events rather than to history, but some of these congregations already show that they will develop an interesting history. A brief account of those not yet mentioned follows:

Historic Kingston, with its ancient fort, its great university, and its modern industry, did not have a Lutheran congregation until 1950. The Rev. Norman Berner, then at Morrisburg, held the first Lutheran service in the Limestone city, November 18, 1945. Students Eric Reble, Robert Langen and Professor George Durst supplied at intervals until 1949 when the Rev. Harry Lossing came as the first full-time pastor. St. Mark's was organized, April 16, 1950. From its beginning the congregation worshipped in a building owned by the Seventh Day Adventists. As a fruit of the energetic ministry of Pastor Lossing and the co-operation of the members, a new church was dedicated, November 17, 1957. Pastor Lossing, was succeeded by the Rev. Alfred Kramer, February, 1958.

In the summer of 1948, the Rev. Harry Lossing made a survey of several Northern Ontario communities, including Geraldton in the Thunder Bay District. The Rev. Robert Rock, after his ordination in June, 1950, took charge as field missionary. Faith Lutheran congregation was organized, September 30, 1951. Services were held in halls that were nothing more than shells. With the help of an interest-free mortgage, from Zion Lutheran Church, Sherwood, Ontario; a \$1,000 gift from a member of St. Peter's, Kitchener; and mission loans, a church was built in 1953. Pastor Rock conducted services also at Long Lac, twenty-five miles from Geraldton. His successors were the Rev. Roseville Burgoyne, 1954-1958, and Calvin Diegel, 1959-

Pastor Eric Christiansen of St. Ansgar Lutheran Church, Toronto, with the assistance of Waterloo Seminary students, made a survey of Oakville in 1949. On March 30, 1952, Dr. J. H. Reble, assisted by

pastors Berner and Mehlenbacher, held a service in the Masonic Hall. For a few months services were conducted at two-week intervals. A church site at the corner of Spruce and Reynolds streets was purchased in October, 1952. The Rev. Roy N. Grosz came as a mission developer, June 1, 1953. Six months later, on November 29, 1953, Grace Lutheran was organized. The following year a parsonage was built. On September 21, 1958, the attractive church was dedicated. Pastor Grosz remained with the congregation through its early years of struggle, and has, as he would be the first to say, by the Grace of God increased the membership to 350 baptized members.

As the result of a survey made in 1952, Dr. Arthur Little was called to develop a mission congregation at London, Ontario. Many years earlier the Canada Synod had served a group of Lutherans in that city, but the work was discontinued. Dr. Little conducted the services in the Aeolian Hall in the downtown section of the city. Redeemer was organized, April 25, 1954, with 115 confirmed members. The Rev. Walter Becker became the pastor in January, 1955. A property in South London was purchased. The large thirteen-room house was renovated to be used as a chapel and parsonage. A chapel adjoining the church house was built in 1958 as the first of three proposed units. The pastor since 1960 is the Rev. Godfrey Oelsner.

Dr. J. H. Reble, April 17, 1946, conducted the first Lutheran service in Peterborough at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Lentz, but it was not until May 12th that the first public service was conducted by Dr. U. Leupold. Seminary professors, students and the pastors at Maynooth held services in the YMCA, 1947-1949. From 1950-1954 Peterborough was a preaching station assigned to the pastor of the Maynooth parish. Herbert Gastmeier took charge in 1954. On May 1, 1955, Christ Lutheran Church was organized with a charter membership of 86 adults and 58 children. Three years later, May 3, 1959, a house of worship was consecrated, located on an excellent elevated site at 463 Highland Road. The baptized membership, in 1960, was 250.

In 1946 the president of the Canada Synod held the initial Lutheran service in Belleville. For thirteen years it remained a preaching station, nurtured mostly by pastors from Kingston. Mission Developer Harold Lindeman moved to Belleville, November 1, 1959.

Holy Trinity Lutheran Church was organized, May 15, 1960. A parsonage and church site have been acquired.

Following preliminary work by the Rev. Roy Grosz of Oakville, Mission Developer Wilfred Myra took charge at Burlington, January 15, 1960. Sixty-three charter members organized Holy Cross congregation, May 15th, of the same year.

Periodically, Lutheran services were held in Brampton by pastors Karl Wulf and Otto Winter of Toronto. Mission Developer Albert Datars became the resident pastor, February 15, 1960. Augsburg Lutheran Church was organized November 6, 1960.

The Rev. Richard Tubbe began work in Richmond Hill, April 3, 1960, serving this field along with the congregation at Unionville. Official organization is scheduled for 1961.

In addition to the congregations referred to above, preaching points have been established in such places as Brockville, Cornwall, Long Lac, and Deep River, in anticipation of organizing mission congregations.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada:

PART II

The census of 1921 showed only 13,181 *Hungarians* in Canada. A heavy postwar immigration trebled that figure by 1931. Many of these were Magyar-speaking refugees from the Hungarian provinces that had been turned over to Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Others were communist fugitives who had taken part in the regime of Bala Kun.

After World War II, and in particular after the Hungarian uprising, many Magyar refugees entered Canada.

The Canada Synod has met with little success in its Hungarian work. During the decade 1928-1938, the synod roll listed Hungarian congregations in Toronto, Montreal and Windsor, with preaching stations at Kitchener, Hamilton and Welland. The congregation at Windsor made the most progress. It was organized in 1928 by the Rev. John L. de Papp. The cornerstone of the church had inscribed on it in Hungarian and Latin: "Magyar Evangélikus Egyház, A.D. MCMXXXII, Primum Hungaricum Templum in Canada." Pastors Eugene Ruzsa, Carl Szebik, and Paul Markovitz attended the Waterloo Seminary and served Hungarian congregations in Canada.

The *Finnish* people are of the Turanic race, one branch of which went north and inhabited the northern part of Scandinavia and Russia. Through intermixture with the Swedes, Norwegians and Russians, they are Caucasian in appearance. In 1157 A.D. King Eric IX of Sweden took Turko (Abo) from the Finns and in subsequent campaigns in 1249 and 1293 central and eastern Finland were brought under Swedish rule.

Early in the sixteenth century Peter Sarkilahti went to Wittenberg, Germany, where he came into contact with the preaching of Luther. He returned to Finland in 1522 and began preaching the Lutheran doctrine in the language of his people. Bishop Martti Skytte supported the Protestant movement and sent young men to Wittenberg, among them Michael Agricola, Paul Justen, Knut Johnson and one known as Eric the Stubborn. These four became bishops in Finland.

Michael Agricola was an energetic champion of Lutheranism. He translated the New Testament into the Finnish language, 1658. The book of Ritual was issued in 1614. Teaching of religion in the schools was made compulsory in 1664. In 1666 the Finnish Lutheran Church became the national church of Finland.¹

Finland is very democratic and highly civilized. This small nation has produced talented painters, famous sociologists, philologists, and musicians. Sibelius ranks among the most noted of contemporary composers. The people are cautious, industrious, friendly, and have a great love of liberty.

The migration of Finns to Port Arthur and Nipigon dates back to 1882. They came from Michigan and Minnesota to work on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

At the close of the nineteenth century and during the early years of the twentieth century there was a large Finnish immigration to the United States and Canada. One group founded New Finland in Saskatchewan. Others settled in Sault Ste. Marie and Copper Cliff. After World War I, Finnish immigrants established homes in Timmins, South Porcupine, Kirkland Lake, Noranda, Rouyn, Sudbury, Montreal and Toronto. From 1921-1928, 26,309 Finns entered Canada.

The Suomi Synod endeavored to care for its people in Canada but found the task too great. At the Eveleth, Minnesota, convention, 1931, the Canadian work was transferred to the U.L.C.A. It was agreed that the Finnish congregations in Canada should be members of the United Lutheran Church synods on the territory in which they were located and that arrangements be made for biennial meetings of all Finnish pastors in Canada. In harmony with this agreement, the Suomi pastors serving in Ontario and Quebec, together with their congregations, transferred their membership to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada.

Wuoristo Finnish Lutheran, at Copper Cliff, Ontario, is the oldest Finnish congregation in the Canada Synod. It was organized in 1897, and is located in the copper and nickel district where 80 per cent of the world's nickel is produced. Because of its location, the congregation has experienced long vacancies.

The enlargement of the canal at Sault Ste. Marie attracted Finnish workers to that section of Ontario. St. Mary's, Sault Ste. Marie, was

organized October 29, 1905, under the guidance of Rev. Johan Bach. For many years it was served by pastors from the State of Michigan. When the Canadian missions of the Suomi Synod became a part of the Canada Synod, a new church was built (1923) in a better location. Since then the membership has trebled.

St. Michael's, Montreal, was organized in 1927 by Frithiof J. Pennanen, seaman's missionary of the Finnish State Church. In 1932 aid was granted by the U.L.C.A. Board of American Missions and the congregation came into the Canada Synod. Under the leadership of the Rev. John Yrttimaa, who took charge in 1933, rapid progress has been made. Pastor Yrttimaa is the author of *The Part Played by Women in the Present Struggle in Finland* (1910). He has issued also a mimeographed lecture, "A Brief Historical Outline of the Finnish Lutheran Church." Several years ago *The Standard* of Montreal devoted three pages of its pictorial section to Pastor Yrttimaa and St. Michael's.

Agricola, Toronto, Ontario, was organized March 22, 1931. Finnish people in increasing numbers had come to Toronto since 1900. About 1905 the Presbyterian Church organized a Finnish congregation. Dr. Emil Hoffman informed the Suomi Synod about the situation. The Rev. John Saarinen was sent, in 1922, to survey the field. Unfortunately, the Suomi Synod was unable to follow up this survey. A few years later the first Finnish Lutheran congregation was organized in Toronto by the Missouri Synod. In 1931 John F. Saarinen returned to Toronto, organized Agricola Finnish Lutheran congregation, and for a few years was the supervisor of all U.L.C.A. Finnish work in Canada. A very fruitful ministry in Agricola was served by Rev. Kyösti Topilla. His successor is Pentti Murto.

In addition to the above, Finnish Lutheran congregations were organized in Windsor, 1930; Sudbury, 1932; Kirkland Lake, 1933; South Porcupine, 1935; Timmins, 1938. Occasional services have been conducted at Wabooos, Garson Mine, Amherstburg, Oshawa, Pottageville, Cobalt, Worthingham, Schomberg, Kenogami, Arvida and Whitefish.

Among the pastors who have served Finnish Lutheran churches in Ontario and Quebec are: J. Yrttimaa, K. Topilla, V. J. Hanninen, A. Stadius, M. Lepisto, F. A. Pelkonen, E. Kyllonen, L. T. Pikkusaari,

F. J. Koski, W. A. Koski, M. Halinen, S. Halkola, J. F. Heino, A. H. Saarisuu, A. Korhonen, T. Kakkinen, P. Murto, T. Happinen, M. Ahonen, F. Korilla. Laymen in the Finnish congregations have been a great help to their pastors and some of them have virtually acted as lay-preachers during extended vacancies. Mr. U. Vainio, Oscar Maki, S. Stadius, and Herbert Johnson are among such consecrated Finnish laymen. The first-named was appointed itinerant missionary to small Finnish colonies in Northern Ontario.

Following World War II many immigrants came to Canada, among them were Germans, Latvians and Estonians. A large percentage of these were refugees. An entire volume could be filled with their stories. In the chapter on Nova Scotia reference has been made to the epic sea voyages of some of the refugees.

Among the Estonian pastors who came to the Canada Synod were: Karl Raudsepp, A. Kivisikk, O. Pello, R. Reinaru, A. Raidur, E. Petersoo. Estonian congregations have been organized at Hamilton (1951), Montreal (1951), Toronto (1951), Port Arthur (1954), Sault St. Marie (1954), Sudbury (1957), with additional preaching points at Welland and other centres.

Several Latvian pastors have entered the Canada Synod: A. Gaudins, E. Pavasars, A. Voitkus, A. Cops, E. A. Lange. These pastors have organized congregations at Hamilton, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa. Trinity, Montreal, Quebec, was the first separate Latvian congregation organized, January 28, 1951.

Work in the German language steadily decreased in the period between the two world wars. However, with the influx of New Canadians after 1946, among whom were many German Lutherans, it was imperative that such work should be given greater emphasis. Existing congregations in Kitchener, Hamilton, Toronto, and Montreal tried to assimilate these people but the numbers were too great. It was necessary to establish new congregations. In Toronto, two congregations were organized. St. George's, with Pastor W. H. Goegginger, 1954, and Martin Luther, with Pastor Karl Wulf, 1955. In Hamilton P. Weingartner became the pastor of St. John's, 1955, and in Montreal, H. W. Luetkehoelter organized St. Paul's, 1957. In Kitchener, St. Peter's congregation provided for German services,

Pastor Mosig and later Dr. J. H. Reble ministering to these New Canadians. At Leamington, Sudbury, Timmins, and a few other places services in the German language were started.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

God bless this hill: these buildings, old and new!
God bless the souls that learn, the minds that train!
God bless the Church that watches, feeds and prays!
Truth shall prevail and noble works ensue.

N. Willison.

At the first meeting of the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod, June, 1853, an interest was manifest in parochial education, and preparatory studies for the ministry. Dr. W. A. Passavant, following that meeting, wrote: "You will be interested to hear that a small commencement has been made in the work of education. To provide the means of education to our young people in the vicinity, and at the same time enable such persons who may desire to prosecute their preparatory studies for the ministry under the influence of the church, it was recommended by the Conference to the church in Vaughan to establish, under the direction of the pastor and council, a good parochial school or academy. This location is a very suitable one, as the church is only sixteen miles from Toronto, the seat of government. It is truly pleasing to witness the interest which is felt in this project . . . for although only a few members of the congregation were present, the sum of fifty pounds, Canadian currency, or upward of \$200, was immediately subscribed. The brethren Diehl and Fishburn design continuing the subscriptions without delay."²

This action, being the overflow of great enthusiasm, did not come to fruition. However, it revealed the fact that the pioneer pastors and people were deeply conscious of the need of a church school and hoped to provide some preparatory education for young men who might desire to enter the Gospel ministry.

After half a century, the Canada Synod still had no theological seminary of its own and was dependent upon pastors who came from the United States and Germany. Among these were many able and truly consecrated men, but frequently it occurred that pastors were sent to the Dominion who were considered "good enough for Canada."

Promising young men from Lutheran parishes in Canada went to the United States for their theological education, but most of them remained in the Republic. Thus the Canada Synod gave to the Lutheran Church in the United States some very prominent pastors, among whom were John Whitteker, Hadwin Fisher, Aden McIntosh, Bernard Fetterly, the Miller brothers, Herman Brezing, A. A. Zinck, and Fred Otterbein.

To Gettysburg and Mount Airy seminaries in the United States, to mission institutes and seminaries at Basel, Berlin and Brecklum in Germany, the Canada Synod owes a debt of gratitude. From Brecklum came pastors Blunck, Christiansen, Bockelmann, Langholz, Voss and Pfeiffer.

One seminary which deserves special grateful mention is that at Kropp, Germany.³ In 1881 the General Council instructed the German Home Mission committee to consider how the need for German-speaking pastors could best be met. Contacts were made with several institutions in Germany who sent out a few pastors. The most intimate contact was made with the Rev. J. Paulsen. He visited America, saw the need, and established, May 1, 1882, the Ebenezer Lutheran Theological Seminary at Kropp, in the province of Schleswig-Holstein, for the purpose of preparing pastors for the Lutheran Church in America. With the greatest fidelity and self-sacrifice, without salary or remuneration, and for some time without any protective legal understanding with the General Council, he carried out this task. His own funds and those of Mrs. Paulsen were poured into the institution. Later a more binding agreement was reached and larger contributions were made to Kropp. This seminary continued to send pastors to the Canada Synod until 1930. From the 1932 Minutes of the U.L.C.A. we quote:

In accordance with the action of the church in 1930, authorizing the Board "to take the necessary steps leading to a friendly dissolution of our relationship with Kropp-Brecklum," the Board continued its grant of \$6,000 during the year 1930-1931, and contributed \$1,500 during 1931-1932. This latter sum was given to assist in closing their books without indebtedness. On July 1, 1931, the institutions were officially closed. . . . The closing of this institution will no doubt bring a feeling of regret to the many friends in this country, but it must not be interpreted as a failure. To have served a purpose in God's plan, is the highest type of success.

The following were among the pastors who came to the Canada Synod from Kropp: Emil Hoffman, H. L. Henkel, F. M. Langholz, A. Blunck, C. C. Maass, F. L. Schuelke, Adolf Eggers, H. Rembe, E. Eggers, J. Goos, E. Holm, G. Brackebusch, Emil Bockelman, Paul Kleine, Markus Hamm, O. Lincke, Richard Mosig, John Reble, O. T. C. Stockmann, O. C. D. Klaehn, Herman Twietmeyer, C. R. Tappert, Herman Schorten, Otto Heick, E. Gomann, R. Aksim, B. Paulson, A. Grunwald, John Peters, S. F. M. Friedrichsen, K. Sobbe. Four of these men served on the staff of Waterloo Seminary: Lincke, Henkel, Hoffman, and Heick. Reference has been made to H. Henkel elsewhere. At this point we include a sketch of the other three.

The *Rev. Ottomar Lincke* was born July 14, 1866, in Samiz, Germany. He was educated at Leipzig, Halle and Kropp. Pastor Lincke came to America and was ordained by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, June 1, 1896. After serving a congregation at Egg Harbor, N.J., he accepted a call to Conestoga, Ontario, where he served 1904-1911. In 1911 he was installed as the first professor and dean of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, holding that office until his death in 1920.⁴

The *Rev. Emil Hoffman*⁵ was born, March 1, 1862, at Oebisfelde, Saxony. He attended the schools at Halle and Kropp. After graduation, in 1886, he accepted a call to the North Easthope-Wellesley-Gadshill parish. In 1888 he moved to Hamilton to take charge of the St. Paul's congregation. During this pastorate he was elected to the presidency of the Canada Synod, a position which he filled for a total of seventeen years. From 1904-1912 he was pastor of St. Matthew's, Kitchener. While in Kitchener, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination, the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Thiel College in recognition of his services to the Church in Canada. Dr. Hoffman served First Lutheran, Toronto, 1912-1920. He was president of the Board of Governors of Waterloo Seminary, 1914-1917. He was a promoter for the organization of the United Lutheran Church, and served on the Ways and Means Committee. Waterloo College and Seminary called him to be its president, 1920-1926. He proved to be a man of outstanding attainments not only as a pastor but also as teacher and administrator. Dr. Hoffman labored for the merging of the Canada and Central Canada synods. In 1925 he was appointed a delegate to the World Lutheran Conference held in

Eisenach. He died at Waterloo, Ontario, April 11, 1926. Great masses of people attended his funeral as a tribute to one who was a Prince of the Church.

The *Rev. J. F. H. Schorten*, a native of Hindenberg, Germany, was born July 17, 1872. He studied for the Lutheran ministry at the universities of Griefswald, Halle and Berlin, and at Kropp Seminary. He came to America in 1900, serving congregations at Paterson, N.J., and Hempstead, N.Y. In Canada he was the pastor at Listowel, 1913-1923, from whence he went to Waterloo College as a professor. In June, 1926, the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Hartwick Seminary. Dr. Schorten was the head of the German Department at Waterloo College, 1927-1947, and served for many years as secretary of the Canada Synod. He died July 9, 1958, at Waterloo, Ontario.⁶

WATERLOO SEMINARY

First steps toward the establishing of a theological seminary in Ontario were taken by the Synod of Central Canada at its meeting in Toronto, May 26, 1909. It was proposed to organize the seminary in federation with Toronto University, opening its doors October 1, 1909. On this proposal the English Home Mission Board of the General Council reported:

We thoroughly agree with the brethren of the Synod of Central Canada in the location of the seminary at Toronto, Canada, and in its affiliation with Toronto University, and with their determination to send their students for the last year to one of the seminaries already in existence and to arrange to adapt their course to the said seminary. The plans so far outlined contemplate the securing of a building where young men having the ministry in view can be boarded and housed under the care of a godly father, and the employment of such instructors in theology as shall enable them creditably to finish the course with one year additional at either Philadelphia or Chicago.⁷

For several reasons the above plan was not carried out. The young Central Canada Synod, realizing that it could not carry out the project alone, sought the co-operation of the older and stronger Canada Synod. Representatives of these two synods met in St. Paul's Church, Toronto, July 1, 1910, and drew up "Articles of Agreement." Ten days later five representatives of each synod met in Stratford, Ontario, drafted a constitution, elected officers and planned to establish the

seminary at Toronto.⁸ This action was drawn to the attention of Dr. Theodore Schmauk, president of the General Council. Though not opposed to the establishment of a Lutheran Seminary in Canada, he questioned the proposal to establish the institution in Toronto. We quote from one of his letters, addressed to the Canada Synod:

Your Synod has always been one of the bulwarks of sound Confessionalism in the General Council. My fear is not for this generation, but for your sons on your own soil, whom you are about to train up in connection with a large University, where the unionistic forms of a common Christianity are almost sure to be recognized and where the hearts of the young men will be almost sure to soften down favorably towards them. The Y.M.C.A., the common Interdenominational Missionary Societies, the common forms of Christian endeavor, in our modern university life, have their use as over against unbelief and immorality in university circles, but our Lutheran students cannot enter into alliances or relationships with this common Christian life in the universities without the greatest danger of weakening their Lutheran principles.

The English church is under a greater strain than the German in standing out for sound Lutheranism. It is more tempted to imitate and follow the lead of other Protestant denominations. Its young men and its students are under the greatest temptation to get ideas and convictions during their college and university career which weaken their hold on the genuine Lutheran practice. If our German and English brethren in Canada can unite in training up a generation of German and English pastors in which both the English and the Germans shall be sound on the Four Points of the General Council, and shall stand faithfully against the denominations around them, they will be accomplishing a most glorious work, and one in which the General Council should ever take the greatest pride. Be certain before you start that your safeguards are such that your young men will not gravitate downward toward the level of the common American Protestantism.⁹

Frequent meetings and conferences were held during the following year. The Board of Trade of the town of Waterloo made known its willingness to donate five acres of land, should the seminary be located in that centre of Lutheranism. This offer, together with the fact that the bulk of Lutheran population in Ontario was situated in Waterloo County, decided the matter. A large two-family house on Albert Street was purchased which adjoined the tract to be donated by the Board of Trade. The General Council meeting in Lancaster, September 11, 1911, adopted the following: "That it recognize the necessity of a theological seminary for the further extension of the Lutheran Church

in Ontario and the Western Provinces and that it give its consent to the plan submitted by the two Canada Synods." In all negotiations prominent leadership was given by Dr. Jacob Maurer and Milton Bieber of the Central Canada Synod and Dr. Emil Hoffman, president of the Canada Synod and a member of the German Board of Home Missions. To the Rev. E. Bockleman, pastor of St. John's, Waterloo, belongs much credit for the bringing of the institution to Waterloo.

On the afternoon of Thanksgiving Day, Monday, October 30, 1911, some three thousand persons gathered at Waterloo for the dedication of the large mansion which should serve as the first seminary building. At this service five acres of land were formally presented to the seminary, making a complete tract of eleven acres extending from Albert to King streets.¹⁰

The original teaching staff consisted of one pastor, the Rev. O. Lincke, who was the German professor, housefather and dean. Part-time English professorships were served by the Rev. Robert Durst of Guelph, and the Rev. P. C. Wike of Galt. N. Willison, one of the four seminary students, acted as tutor. In the fall of 1914, the Rev. Preston A. Laury, D.D., of Perkasié, Pa., became professor of theology and president of the seminary. He was a man of energy and courage and guided the infant institution through the turbulent years of World War I. In 1917 the Rev. C. H. Little, D.D., accepted a call as professor of theology, and was the acting president and dean, 1918-1920, and dean for many years. The Rev. Emil Hoffman, D.D., of Toronto was installed as president in 1920. At the same time Rev. H. L. Henkel was added to the faculty to take the place of Prof. O. Lincke, whose death occurred in the spring of 1920. Two years later, A. A. Zinck, a graduate of the seminary and for three years professor in Waterloo College, was called to the chair of homiletics and English Bible. Later he became president of the institution. From 1931-1942, the Rev. Fred B. Clausen was head of the faculty. Dr. H. T. Lehmann was at the helm from 1944-1953, and was succeeded by Dr. J. Ray Houser.¹¹

In the fifty years of its history the seminary has graduated one hundred and fifty men who have entered the Lutheran ministry. In addition many special and part-time students have attended lectures, some of them graduating and serving other Protestant churches. Seventy-five per cent of the pastors of the Canada Synod are graduates

of Waterloo. Graduates are serving in the Nova Scotia Synod, the Synod of Western Canada, in parishes of the U.S.A., and in the foreign mission field. During World War II eight graduates served as chaplains with the Canadian Armed Forces: F. L. Howald, G. Innes, J. Miller, G. F. Durst, J. Neff, C. R. Cronmiller, V. J. Monk, and W. Goos. Dr. Albert Jacobi, president of the Canada Synod, is a graduate, as is also Dr. Hugh Whitteker, who presided over the Nova Scotia Synod for twenty years. Another graduate, W. A. Mehlenbacher, has served the Church at large as Canadian director of C.H.E.Y., executive director of the Canadian Lutheran Council, and director of Evangelism for Canada, 1956-1957. Dr. Earl Treusch held the office of president of Saskatoon Lutheran Seminary, and is presently the executive director of the Canadian Lutheran Council. Clifton Monk has been with Canadian Lutheran World Relief for twelve years. Albert W. Lotz is serving the largest Lutheran church in Canada. Lloyd Schaus, Arthur Little, George Durst, Robert Langen and Frederick Little have returned to their Alma Mater as professors and instructors at Waterloo College. Waterloo Seminary's most celebrated son, as far as the work in Canada is concerned, is the Rev. Nils Willison.

Nils Willison (originally Olsson) was born August 24, 1880, in the province of Skåne Sweden, the first-born son of Per and Johannah Olsson. When he was one year old the family emigrated to Canada and settled at Torrance in the Muskoka district, near Gravenhurst. He attended school at Torrance and Gravenhurst, was active in the church as superintendent of the Sunday School, and frequently read to the people Moody's and Luther's sermons. He was instructed and confirmed by the Rev. J. G. Nelson, pastor of the Norwegian Lutheran Church at Gravenhurst. The Rev. Dr. F. A. Kaehler of Trinity Lutheran Church, Buffalo, heard of him and wrote him several encouraging letters. He entered the Gravenhurst High School, completed his courses in two years and graduated with matriculation standing. After a course of instruction at the Model School in Bracebridge, he was appointed principal of the West Ward School in Gravenhurst (1903). In 1904 he was united in marriage to Margaret White of Muskoka Falls. From the Faculty of Education of Toronto University he graduated with first class honors, May, 1908. From 1908-1911 he

was the principal of the Public and Continuation School at Coldwater, Ontario. While attending Toronto University his interest in church work was quickened by the ministry of the Rev. W. C. Miller of St. Paul's Lutheran Church.

When the Lutheran Seminary at Waterloo was opened in October, 1911, Nils Willison enrolled in the first class. He was engaged as an instructor in preparatory subjects, and also served the mission congregation at Brantford, Ontario. He graduated in June, 1914, the first graduate of any Canadian Lutheran college or seminary. Following his ordination, June 22, 1914, he served the Unionville-Sherwood parish. Through the years the following degrees were conferred on him: B.A., B.D., S.T.M., Litt.D., D.D.

In 1918 he returned to Waterloo as professor in Waterloo College and principal of the High School Department, and in 1924 as registrar of the College. The presidency of Waterloo College and Seminary was offered to him in 1928, but he declined the office and accepted a call to Trinity Lutheran Church, Hamilton, Ontario.

After a successful pastorate of eight years in Hamilton, Dr. Willison accepted a call to become president and dean of the Lutheran College and Seminary in Saskatoon, an office which he held until 1949, when he reached the official age of retirement. However, three more years were spent in active service of the Church as pastor of the Owen Sound-Wiarton parish.

Dr. Willison was editor of *The Canada Lutheran* for seventeen years. A member of the Board of Governors of Waterloo Seminary for twelve years and three years president of the Board. During World War II he was chairman of the Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Service. Eight times he was elected a delegate to U.L.C.A. conventions, and was official Canadian delegate to the Lutheran World Convention at Copenhagen, Denmark, 1929, and Lund, Sweden, 1947. Dr. Willison wrote many articles for church papers and other periodicals and is the author of *Muskoka Echoes*, a book of choice poetry.¹²

Dr. Carroll H. Little was born in Hickory, North Carolina, 1872. He graduated from Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia, and did post-graduate work at Johns Hopkins University for one year when he entered Mt. Airy Seminary at Philadelphia. He received his B.D., S.T.M. and S.T.D. degrees from Chicago Lutheran Seminary, and

was honored with a D.D. degree by Lenoir Rhyne College. In 1901 he accepted a call to Nova Scotia, where he served parishes at New Germany and Mahone Bay. He served as housefather of the Orphans' Home, and filled terms as secretary and president of the Nova Scotia Synod. In Ontario Dr. Little served the historic Riverside-Morrisburg parish, 1914-1917. He accepted a professorship at Waterloo Seminary in 1917 and served in that office for thirty years, during which period his conservative Lutheranism made an indelible impression on the one hundred graduates. He was acting president of the seminary from 1918-1920 and dean from 1920 until his retirement in 1947. Dr. Little was author of *Disputed Doctrines*, *New Testament Handbook*, and *Lutheran Confessional Theology*. He frequently contributed articles to church papers. Perhaps no man in Canada or the U.S.A. read the Bible as often and in so many languages as did Dr. Little. He was versed in English, German, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Dr. Little died at Waterloo, Ontario, March 31, 1958, and was buried in St. Peter's Lutheran Cemetery, Kitchener.¹³ Two of his sons, Arthur and Frederick, are professors at Waterloo.

Dr. A. A. Zinck, born near Chester, Nova Scotia, was influenced in his decision to enter the Gospel ministry by his pastor, Dr. Jacob Maurer. Dr. Zinck was a professor at Waterloo College, 1919-1922. In 1922 he was appointed to the chair of English Bible and Homiletics in the seminary, and from 1926-1927 was president of the college and seminary. In 1927 Dr. Zinck accepted a call to Church of the Redeemer, Milwaukee, Wis. He is the author of *What a Church Member Should Know*. The Church in Canada lost a scholarly man, a beloved professor, an outstanding preacher, when Dr. Zinck went to the United States.

Dr. Frederick B. Clausen, the fourth president of Waterloo College and Seminary, was born February 25, 1880, in New York City. He was educated at Wagner College and Mt. Airy Seminary in Philadelphia. From 1903-1931 he served parishes in the U.S.A. He came to Waterloo in the days of the depression and spared neither time nor effort to serve the Canada Synod and the U.L.C.A. In addition, he was active in social and community affairs. Dr. Clausen died at Waterloo, August 5, 1942, and was buried in New York City.¹⁴

The fifth president of the Waterloo institutions was the *Rev.*

Helmut T. Lehmann. He is the son of Rev. H. E. Lehmann, pastor for many years at Elbourne, Saskatchewan. Dr. Lehmann is a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, and the Lutheran Seminary at Saskatoon. He did post-graduate study at the University of Erlangen, where he earned the degree of Doctor of Theology, 1939. After serving Trinity Church, Winnipeg, for four years, and teaching at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, for one year, he came to Waterloo as president, 1944-1953. His term of office may be described as one of expansion. He strove to raise the standards and make Waterloo a true university. In the autumn of 1953 he accepted a call extended by the Board of Publication of the U.L.C.A.¹⁵

In September, 1954, *Dr. J. Ray Houser* was inducted as president of Waterloo Seminary. He is a graduate of Gettysburg College and Philadelphia Seminary. Immediately before coming to Waterloo he had served for twenty-six years as the pastor of St. Mark's, Williamsport, Penna. Under his leadership the seminary enrollment has increased, standards were raised, and plans formulated for a new seminary building.

Dr. Ulrich S. Leupold, dean of the seminary, was ordained in 1939. He served as assistant pastor at St. Matthew's, Kitchener, 1939-1942, and then pastor of Christ Church, Maynooth, 1942-1945. In September, 1945, he accepted a professorship at Waterloo Seminary. He is recognized by students, pastors and fellow professors as a man of unusual ability in the fields of theology and music.

Dr. Otto Heick is another gift to the Canada Synod from the Kropp Seminary in Europe. He came to Canada by way of the U.S.A., where he had served as a professor and acting president of Martin Luther Seminary, Lincoln, Nebraska. Dr. Heick succeeded Dr. H. Schorten as head of the Department of German Language and Literature in the college and also as lecturer in the seminary. On October 31, 1949, he was installed as professor of systematic theology.

The Rev. Ragnar C. Teigen came to the staff in 1956, in the Department of Old Testament. The Rev. Erich Schultz became the librarian in 1959.

WATERLOO COLLEGE

Waterloo College School, having the status of a high school, opened its doors to students in 1914. Founded as a feeder for the

seminary, it attracted many students who desired a high school education under Christian influence. Under the direction of Dean Alex Potter, university courses were added and Waterloo College of Arts came into being in 1924. One year later it was affiliated with the University of Western Ontario. Requirements of the university in courses, faculty and equipment having been met, the first class of graduates received their Bachelor of Arts degree, May 27, 1927. The Waterloo graduates at that convocation captured first, second and fourth places in competition with other graduates from Roman Catholic, Protestant and non-denominational colleges. On that occasion the Minister of National Revenue for the Dominion of Canada, himself a Lutheran, addressed the following letter to Dean Potter:

The graduation of the first class of Waterloo College is an occasion of such unique interest and importance that I cannot let it pass without congratulating the faculty and the graduates.

As one who was born here and who has the honor to represent this district in the Federal House, it is a source of pride to me that Waterloo County has taken its place with the few other counties that have a degree granting college.

I am proud, also, that the Lutheran Church, to which I have the honor to belong, has been and is the sponsor of this splendid educational institution.

This community has long been noted as a manufacturing and financial centre. It is typical of the progressive spirit of our citizens that we now assume a position of leadership in higher education.

As the graduates leave this place to take their part in the world's affairs, I know that the useful lessons that have been inculcated will stand them in good stead. They are now well equipped to take their part in building up a virile Canadian nation, and I take this opportunity to wish them every success.¹⁶

Yours faithfully,

W. D. EULER

In 1929 the college school or high school department was discontinued, and the college became co-educational. Buildings and equipment were added to keep pace with the advanced educational standards and rising enrollment. The original seminary building was converted into a residence for ladies and was named Conrad Hall in tribute to Mrs. Jacob Conrad, who had rendered great service to the institutions through the Seminary Auxiliary. The large four-story, ivy-covered building was named Willison Hall, in tribute to the first

seminary graduate. This building serves as a men's residence, and teaching building for the seminary. A modern teaching and administration building was opened in 1954, and a spacious dining-hall was provided for college and seminary students. In 1956 a group of prominent citizens from Waterloo and neighboring communities become incorporated as a Board of Governors to operate a university college to be known as Waterloo College Associate Faculties. This new board petitioned for and was granted affiliation with Waterloo College. The agreement and affiliation provided a means through which Waterloo College might continue to serve the needs of the Church and at the same time benefit from the facilities provided by a provincially and community supported institution located on the same campus. The agreement assured Waterloo College of being the Arts College of the University. Dr. Gerald Hagey, president of the church college, guided and stimulated this new venture in higher education and served in a dual capacity as president of Waterloo College and president of the Associate Faculties. In 1959, the Provincial government approved an act creating Waterloo Lutheran University which operates Waterloo University College and Waterloo Lutheran Seminary. The following year the Lutheran University decided to sever the relationship with the secular university it had mothered. In 1961 Senator W. D. Euler was appointed first chancellor of the Waterloo Lutheran University.

Some of the Lutheran professors who have served on the college faculty are: Austin Zinck, Nils Willison, Alex Potter (dean), S. Hirtle, H. Schorten, H. Henkel, Willis Froats (dean), Carl Klinck (dean), Lloyd Schaus (dean), Herman Overgaard, Ilse Aksim, George Durst, Kurt Nabert, Alice Metzger, Arthur Little, Robert Langen, Frederick Little, Martin Dolbeer, Herbert Axford (president).

Both the college and seminary operated under one Board of Governors. Through the years the following clergy have held the office of president of the board: J. A. Miller, Emil Hoffman, Jacob Maurer, Nils Willison, Clifford Roberts, John Schmieder, Albert Jacobi, Carl Cronmiller, Albert Lotz, Delton Glebe, Alvin Baetz and John Zimmerman.

The Rev. *Lloyd Schaus*, M.A., D.D., graduated from Waterloo College in 1940, received his M.A. from Columbia, 1938, and in the

same year was ordained. He was the assistant pastor at St. John's, Waterloo, 1938-1940, and served St. Peter's, Ottawa, 1940-1947. In 1947, Pastor Schaus accepted a call to the seminary as professor of Old Testament theology. The following year he was appointed dean of the college, an office which he has continued to hold through years which have witnessed remarkable growth and development in the college. In recognition of his services to the Church in the field of Education, Luther Seminary, Saskatoon, in 1959, conferred on him the D.D. degree.

UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The Canada Synod was one of the charter members of the General Council. It was also a charter member of the United Lutheran Church in America. The home mission, social mission and educational work of the Canada Synod could not have been accomplished without the generous aid received from the boards of the United Lutheran Church, aid in money, aid through various executive secretaries, and the valuable paternal advice received on many occasions from Dr. F. H. Knubel and Dr. Franklin Clark Fry.

In October, 1954, the United Lutheran Church met for the first time on Canadian soil. The convention was held in the city of Toronto, with business sessions in the Eaton Auditorium. By gracious permission the Communion Service was held in St. James Anglican Cathedral. It proved to be one of the most constitutional-minded conventions of the Church, dealing with the colossal Report of the Commission on Organizational Structure. Approval was given to the plans for a great program of evangelism to be implemented during 1956 and 1957.¹⁷

On Sunday, October 10th, the 1,200 delegates and visitors were transported from Toronto to Kitchener. They filled fourteen cars on two trains. In the Twin Cities they attended services in the Lutheran churches, were guests at a Canadian Thanksgiving dinner in the homes of resident Lutherans and attended a great rally in the Kitchener Memorial Auditorium. The attendance at the rally was estimated at 7,000, including many people of the Lutheran faith who came from near and far parishes of the Canada Synod.

The United Lutheran Church in America was founded in 1918, merging the General Synod, General Council, and United Synod of the South. It then was a church of 1,100,000 baptized members. After

forty years its statistics indicate a growth to 2,400,000 baptized. It is the largest of the three general bodies in America.

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry has been its president since 1944. He is a man with a world vision, holding top executive offices in the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches.

It is anticipated that, in 1962, there will be a merger of the United Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Church, the Suomi Synod and the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, forming a large general body to be known as the Lutheran Church in America.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

Dr. August Frederick Albert Neudoerffer was born in Santa Leopoldina, Brazil, June 18, 1881, son of Ernst Neudoerffer, Sr. His father served as a missionary in Brazil for seven years, and for many years as a pastor of the Canada Synod, at Zurich and Normanby. August Neudoerffer served in India for thirty-two years, beginning his work there in 1912. He did most effective work as a district missionary. He organized the work among the Hill Tribes in the Tallspudi District, started a Middle School and Reading Room at Rajahmundry, and was the founder of the Visrantipuram Sanatorium. He also sponsored the literacy campaign in Bhimavaram. His entire life was characterized by deep faith and piety along with a flaming love for India. In 1914 he was united in marriage with Missionary Amy Belle Roher, M.D. Their son, J. Frederick, was born in India, where he received much of his education. Frederick graduated from the Lutheran Seminary at Waterloo, Ontario, in 1942 and served Redeemer Lutheran Church, Montreal, until 1955 when he was called by the Board of Foreign Missions to the position of secretary for India. August Neudoerffer died in India, July 29, 1944.¹⁸

Dr. Ernst N. Neudoerffer, brother of August, also was born in Santa Leopoldina, Brazil. As a child he came to Canada with his parents. He was ordained, July 17, 1900, and on September 15th of the same year was commissioned to serve in India. His first assignment was at Dowlaishvaran and Samalkot, following which he served as manager of the Rajahmundry Boy's School and Hostel. In 1903 Dr. Neudoerffer assumed charge of two fields, Tanuku and Tallapudi (Viggeshvarapuram), about one hundred miles in length from north to south. Here

much travel was required, mostly on foot or by ox-cart. In 1909 he was transferred to the large Bhimavaram field, in which he visited 75 villages and ministered to 10,000 baptized members. In this field the travel was more pleasant, being by houseboat through a network of canals. Here Dr. Neudoerffer directed the building of a high school and opened a girl's school. Mrs. Neudoerffer, being a nurse, opened a dispensary which later developed into a hospital. When World War I broke out in 1914, the Schleswig-Holstein missionaries were interned and Missionary Neudoerffer, being a British subject, was made overseer of the large Jeypore field. Perhaps his most effective work was as principal of Luthergiri Seminary, where he served from 1924-1947 except for a period of five years when he was in Canada as a professor at Waterloo Seminary. Dr. Neudoerffer had a part in the training of almost all the native Indian pastors and catechists of the United Lutheran mission. He retired in India in 1947.¹⁹ His youngest daughter, Theodora Neudoerffer, after completing her training at Toronto General Hospital, was commissioned at Waterloo, Ontario, August 18, 1935, as a missionary nurse to India.

Rev. Leon E. L. Irschick was born September 12, 1889, in Riga, which at that time was under the old Czarist regime of Russia. After completing his education in schools in that city, he worked in banks in both England and Russia. He migrated to Canada in 1912. Here, he at first worked on farms near Toronto after which he took courses in the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, Ontario. In 1914, he entered the Lutheran College and Seminary at Waterloo, graduating in 1919. He was called to Hespeler, where he served as pastor until 1921. In 1922 Rev. Irschick received a call to the mission field in India.

During thirty-seven years in the India mission field, his work consisted in supervising evangelistic, educational and congregational work in rural areas in the West and East Godavary and Guntur Districts. During World War II he was placed in charge of a very backward area formerly worked by the German Schleswig-Holstein Lutheran Mission, whose missionaries had been interned. It was during that term that Rev. Irschick had the spiritual oversight of the patients in the Philadelphia Leper Colony in Salur. After the reorganization within the

Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church, he served two terms as an evangelistic district missionary, first in the Central Guntur and finally in the large West Godavary Synod area. This latter work extended from the fishing villages near the Bay of Bengal to the jungle area inhabited by aboriginal hill tribes.

In recognition of his long missionary work in the foreign field the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

As a retired missionary, Dr. Irschick is now serving as a permanent supply pastor, St. Matthew's Lutheran congregation, at Mildmay, Ontario.

Other missionaries from the Canada Synod who have served or are serving in the foreign field are: Elizabeth Szember, Otto E. Bluehdorn, Emil F. Lange, Edwin Nabert, Eric Reble, all serving the church in India. Mrs. Buelah Innes served in Liberia; Barry Lang is presently in British Guiana, and Robert Datars is preparing for service in India.

In the fall of 1960 the Board of Foreign Missions leased a house near Waterloo Lutheran University. It was converted to apartments for overseas students. The first occupants were: Mr. and Mrs. Paul Jagdhar, from British Guiana; Mr. and Mrs. Desmond Hamlet, from British Guiana; Mr. and Mrs. Roland Payne, from Liberia.

While not a foreign missionary, mention should be made of the service rendered by Reuben C. Baetz, son of the Rev. and Mrs. Harry Baetz of Elmira, Ontario. Mr. Baetz, subsequent to his studies at Columbia University and the University of Toronto, began work for the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees in June, 1949, in Luebeck, Germany. He was director for LWFSR in the British Zone. Later he succeeded Dr. S. W. Herman as head of LWFSR with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, a position which he held until 1957, when he returned to Canada to become assistant commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross.

WOMEN'S GROUPS

At the beginning of the present century the ladies organizations in Dundas County were supporting mission projects in India and Japan, as well as aiding home missions within the synod. Their early status was that of Ladies' Aids with a missionary interest. By 1907, the

societies at Williamsburg, Dunbar, Riverside, Morrisburg and Montreal had passed through the transitional period and were listed in the Minutes of the Women's Home and Foreign Mission Society of the Western Conference, New York and New England Synod. By 1908, St. Paul's, Toronto, and St. Paul's, Guelph, were included in the list.

At the first annual meeting of the Central Canada Synod, May 25, 1909, held at College Hall, Toronto, a Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society was organized. The charter societies were: Morrisburg, Riverside, Williamsburg, Dunbar, Montreal (Redeemer), Toronto (St. Paul's), Guelph, Unionville, Brantford, Galt, Hamilton (Trinity), Port Colborne, and Ridgeway. The first president was Mrs. J. C. Casselman and the first project was the raising of \$250 toward a maternity hospital in India. The project was over-subscribed by \$107, the surplus being used for India lace and work in Puerto Rico.

In 1913 the name was changed to The Women's Missionary Society and, when the Canada Synod and Central Canada Synod merged, in 1925, the official name of the society was The Women's Missionary Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada. New departments and offices were added to keep pace with the program of the Women's Missionary Society of the U.L.C.A. An average of \$3,000 per year was raised for missions during the first thirty years of its history, and substantially larger amounts in the past twenty years. Besides supporting the program of the general society, the W.M.S. of the Canada Synod has given generously in support of Waterloo Seminary and in aid of home missions.

On October 14, 1919, the Eastern Conference was organized, the first president being Mrs. Olsen of St. Peter's, Ottawa. The Western Conference was organized in 1942 under the presidency of Mrs. A. W. Lotz. Eleven presidents have served the synodical W.M.S. during the first fifty years of its history: Mrs. J. C. Casselman, Mrs. M. J. Bieher, Mrs. N. Willison, Mrs. J. Musgrove, Mrs. W. H. Knauff, Miss A. Bornholdt, Mrs. Eva Collins, Mrs. W. Klinck, Mrs. W. Gillespie, Mrs. A. W. Lotz, and Mrs. L. Schaus.²⁰

The fiftieth anniversary number of *Lutheran Women's Work*, published in 1958, listed the names of all who subscribed continuously

to that magazine since its inception. Among the names were two Canadians: Miss Meda Whitteker of Williamsburg, and Mrs. J. C. Casselman of Morrisburg.

In harmony with the general body the W.M.S. of the Canada Synod changed its name, in 1956, to United Lutheran Church Women.

To commemorate fifty years of service the Canada Synod U.L.C.W. was host to the triennial convention of the United Lutheran Church Women (U.L.C.A.). The convention was held in Toronto, Ontario, September 26-30, 1958, the first on Canadian soil.

The *Seminary Auxiliary* of Waterloo College and Seminary was organized, February 27, 1913. The first officers were: president, Mrs. F. Stahlschmidt of St. Peter's, Preston; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jacob Conrad of St. John's, Waterloo; secretary, Mrs. M. J. Bieber of First English, Kitchener; treasurer, Mrs. H. A. Hagen of St. Matthew's, Kitchener. For several years the auxiliary held a reception for visitors on the first Saturday of each month. Linens, towels, and quilts were obtained for the dormitory rooms and an annual Christmas banquet was provided for the students.

While the women residing in Waterloo, Kitchener, and neighboring towns have been the active group, membership is open to all women of the synod who pay a nominal membership fee.

In addition to furnishing the dormitory rooms, equipment for some classrooms and offices was supplied. A large sum was donated to furnish the chemistry laboratory. All the furnishings were supplied for Conrad Hall dormitory for girls. Over a period of forty years the gifts amounted to approximately \$100,000. The helping arm of the Women's Auxiliary has been greatly appreciated by the Board of Governors and the students.

The first Canadian-born *Lutheran deaconess* was Sister Marie Gerndt, daughter of C. R. Gerndt, then pastor of St. Peter's, Logan (Bornholm), Ontario. Sister Marie served the church for forty years, 1902 until her death 1942. In 1942 Eva Alberti who lived in the Bornholm parsonage, 1921-1931, was consecrated as a deaconess. Nursing Sister Ella Koch, from St. Matthew's, Kitchener, served for twenty years in the Lakenau Hospital, Philadelphia. Sister Lavina

Shierholtz, also from St. Matthew's, Kitchener, taught in the German-town Orphanage and went from there to China as a missionary.

Sister Florence Weicker was the first Canadian-born deaconess to be installed in a Canada Synod congregation. Sister Florence, a native of Kitchener, was educated for the nursing profession. After a course at Waterloo College and the Baltimore Motherhouse, Sister Florence was invested as a deaconess, October 23, 1945, and was installed in St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Kitchener, Ontario, July 6, 1947.

Sister Bertha Becker (Mrs. Alfred Wedman), was the first deaconess to graduate from Waterloo College (1950) under the co-operative plan between the college and the motherhouse. Sister Esther Brose was the first deaconess consecrated in Canada, at Zion, Pembroke, October 20, 1954. Selma Lemp, was the first Canadian-born parish worker. Other Canadian-born deaconesses are: Sister Edna Monk, Sister Velma Pomrenke, Sister Shiela Radtke, Sister Grace Faber (Mrs. H. Saabas), Sister Alice Bald (Mrs. B. Lang), Sister Helene Forler.

Among the young women from Canada who received training as parish-workers are: Marjorie Uffelman, Florence Reinhardt, Hazel Prensler, Leona Nabert (Mrs. H. Brose), Betty Schwichtenberg, Alma Conrad, Kathleen Mumford. Additional young ladies who have trained or are in training at the motherhouse are: Marlene Kerath, Marilyn Demone, Shirley Lohnes, Shirley Davey, Eleanor Wismer, Judith Carse, Agnes Casselman, Anne Keffer, Magdalene Kumm, Virginia Pfaff, Virginia Deichert, Ruth Suckow.²¹

In 1950 Miss Elfriede Hartig assumed her duties as *Educational Missionary* for Eastern Canada as a member of the Parish and Church School Board of the United Lutheran Church in America. Miss Hartig was called to serve in consultation and co-operation with the committee on parish education of the Canada and Nova Scotia Synods. Her office was at the synodical headquarters of the Canada Synod, but at regular intervals extended trips were made to the parishes of the Nova Scotia Synod. The educational missionary promoted leadership in congregations and community schools. She was of great assistance at camps, summer schools, and conventions; had oversight of the Sunday School by mail; and did much to improve catechetical classes, Sunday and week-day schools. Miss Hartig is a daughter of the late

Dr. T. Hartig, a former president of the Manitoba Synod (Synod of Western Canada). Her sister Elizabeth Hartig has been in India for several years as a missionary nurse. Her contribution to foreign mission work will be related in Volume II.

MEN'S GROUPS

The United Lutheran Church Men (originally known as the Brotherhood) was provisionally organized at the convention of the Canada Synod in 1928, and formally organized at St. Matthew's, Kitchener, November 12, 1928. The importance of a guided boys' work program has been emphasized and promoted since the inception of the auxiliary. Annual work projects were undertaken at Edgewood Park for the youth camps, relating to new facilities, equipment and buildings. Additional property was purchased by the U.L.C.M. and donated to the synod for camp expansion and diverse programs.

The annual Lutheran Rally has brought together over 1,000 persons from many congregations to hear inspirational messages, from leaders of the United Lutheran Church. These rallies have been held every year since 1938.

The seminary and college at Waterloo have benefited by projects of the U.L.C.M. The Home Mission Extension Fund grew out of the U.L.C.M. Loan and Gift Fund which was approved as a project in 1949. The convention of the U.L.C.M. of the United Lutheran Church was held in Kitchener, 1956, with Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, U.L.C.A. president, as a special speaker.

The King's Men Program is one of the main objectives of the auxiliary. It aims to win back lapsed members and to encourage family church attendance.

Laymen who have served as presidents of U.L.C.M. include A. Ramsperger, E. Winkler, L. B. Zimmerman, Lloyd H. Brennan, Robert Walter, Harvey Graber, J. A. Kaufmann, Ernest Clark, Roy Hilker, Walter Ludwig and Howard Herter. S. Wiecher was editor of *The Broadcaster* for several years.

Among the lay members of the Canada Synod who have served on U.L.C.A. Boards are: C. N. Weber, the Board of Publications and Board of Pensions; Mrs. Ruth Gillespie and Mr. Alvin Metzger, the Board of Foreign Missions; Mr. Arnt Loa, the Board of American

Missions; Carl Dare and George Becker, the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Laymen's Movement.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S GROUPS

The Rev. L. W. Rupp contributed an article to *The Lutheran*, August 25, 1937, in which he stated:

Even before Dr. M. J. Bieber put his feet in the oven of the kitchen stove in the Morrisburg parsonage on his first daring venture into the haunts of the United Empire Loyalists, the Morrisburg League was maintaining church services while the pastor (Rupp) did the actual pioneering in Montreal and Toronto. It hasn't been so recent that the Luther League became international; it crossed the border under the direction of a member of the 1896 Pittsburgh organizing convention.

On April 23, 1908, in the town hall in Galt, the Canada Luther League came into being. The charter leagues were: Montreal, Morrisburg, Riverside, Williamsburg, Brantford, Galt, Guelph, Waterloo (St. John's), Kitchener (St. Peter's), and Stratford. To Field Missionary M. J. Bieber belongs the credit for this organization of English-speaking young people. The following year, on Thanksgiving day, at St. Matthew's, Kitchener, the Jugenbund of the Canada Synod was organized. Twelve congregational youth societies were represented: Elmira, Heidelberg, Kitchener (St. Matthew's), Hespeler, Hamilton (St. Paul's), Brodhagen, Hanover, Preston, St. Jacobs, Stratford, Baden and New Hamburg. As with the Luther League so with the Jugenbund, there had been youth organizations at an early date, St. Paul's Jugenbund, Hamilton, having been organized in 1893.

For several years these two youth organizations pursued a separate course, but followed a similar program and both were active in the raising of \$10,000 Student's Aid Fund for the benefit of Waterloo College and Seminary students. The Luther League and Jugenbund merged in 1926. The Rev. R. Geelhaar was the first president of the amalgamated bodies. Since 1926 the Luther League has followed the program of The Luther League of America (U.L.C.A.) to which has been added special financial objectives for the benefit of Waterloo Seminary, Canadian home missions, and for the Luther League camps. The Canada Synod Luther League was host to the 23rd Biennial Convention of the Luther League of America, July 3-7, 1941, in Kitchener.²²

In 1934 a joint committee representing the synod and the Luther League was appointed to organize a *Lutheran Summer Camp*. Two years later the first Boys' Camp was held at Fisher's Glen on Lake Erie with Ernest Berner as camp director. The first Girls' Camp was held in 1940 under the supervision of Mrs. Dorothy Hall.

Ernest Berner was the leader in the development of camping within the Canada Synod. Wherever he went in church circles he promoted the Lutheran Summer Camps and encouraged the synod and Luther League to secure a permanent site. In 1944, Edgewood Park, located seven miles east of Guelph, was purchased. The formal dedication service was on July 30, 1944, conducted by Rev. K. Knauff, chairman of the camp committee. The grounds had been used as a recreational park for the public. The largest building was used as a dining hall and general assembly. Other features were an open air swimming pool, a large picnic area, several cottages, an athletic field, wooded areas and an abundant supply of spring water. Since 1944, additional adjoining land has been purchased, new cottages have been built, and many improvements effected through voluntary labor by campers, Luther Leaguers, and members of the Brotherhood.²³

Lutherlyn, a summer camp for the youth of the Eastern Conference, was opened in 1945, on a rented site at Laurentian Point on the Ottawa River, 35 miles west of Pembroke. The facilities included three dormitory buildings, dining room and kitchen, a staff house, sandy beach and unexcelled scenery. The program consisted of Bible study, music, sports, crafts and campfire activities. Lutherlyn is a very informal and friendly camp. It attracts campers from great distances far beyond the confines of the Eastern District.

IMMIGRATION

Dr. M. J. Bieher, in his report to the Central Canada Synod, in the year 1912, stated:

Montreal is the reservoir of the incoming human streams from European countries. Many simply pass through the city to the west or to the United States. Many remain for a while, then scatter over Canada or North America. A large number remain permanently. Should we not welcome these, our brethren, to their new country? Should we not give them comfort, shelter, advice, a home in their need? Should we not give them spiritual administration and the bread of Life? It is in this critical time of their life that they should be befriended by their own Church and kept to their confirmation vows.

The Women's Missionary Society of Redeemer, Montreal, discussed this need, and requested Mrs. J. C. Casselman to present the matter to the synodical W.M.S. This was done and a fund was started.²⁵ In March, 1915, the Dorchester House, 622 Dorchester Street, West Montreal, was opened. In this the Lutherans co-operated with other Protestants.

The fruit of these early efforts matured a decade later, when the Canada Synod, in co-operation with the Inner Mission Board of the United Lutheran Church, called Dr. O. C. D. Klaehn to be the Immigrant Mission Pastor with office in Montreal. In this capacity he served for fifteen years helping and advising thousands of immigrants. Although immigration practically ceased during the thirties, Dr. Klaehn was retained in the capacity of a social mission worker until his death in 1941.

The Rev. S. M. Friedrichsen re-opened the immigrant work in Montreal, April 1, 1948, where he rendered a splendid service for the next three years. He gave special attention to the personnel of the nine refugee ships which landed in Halifax from Sweden. Pastor Friedrichsen's home was open to many a stranger. He stated: "My home and office became the refuge of many a stranded poor soul. They slept on our couches, sofas, chairs, even in the apartment furnace room. My dear wife prepared countless meals and lunches for the unfortunates."

In 1951, Miss K. Petersons took over the work in Montreal. She had previously been the Lutheran immigrant representative at Halifax. Mrs. Edith Pauley took her place in Halifax, and later became the immigrant representative at Toronto.

Four Lutheran Immigration and Service Centres were established in 1954 at Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor, with John Waldhouser, Mrs. Pauley, Rev. Fred Mueller, and Rev. S. M. Friederichsen respectively in charge. All have rendered a very helpful service. Fred Mueller, in Hamilton, did an especially good work both as pastor of St. Paul's and as immigrant and social worker. Many immigrants were kept loyal to the Lutheran Church as a result of his efforts.²⁶

From the year 1949, much credit is due to the Canadian Committee of the Lutheran World Federation for their interest and support

of the above work, also to the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church.

Elsewhere in this volume reference is made to the services rendered by Dr. John Reble as consultant to Lutheran emigrants at Bremen, Germany, 1954-1956. Along with Dr. Reble, reference is made here to Mr. Reuben Baetz, who under the Lutheran World Federation served the Lutheran emigrants before they departed from Europe, and in Canada set up an office in 1951, to help the immigrants after their arrival in Canada.

The Rev. *Otto C. D. Klaehn* was born, June 7, 1876, in a Lutheran parsonage in Mecklenburg, Germany. His uncle was the bishop of the Lutheran Church in Mecklenburg. He pursued his studies at Schwerin and at Kropp Seminary. His ordination took place at St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Hamilton, Ontario, July 21, 1897. Pastorates were served at Muskoka, 1897-1900; Sullivan 1900-1905; Stratford, 1905-1925. For fifteen years (1926-1941) he was the Lutheran immigrant chaplain at Montreal, Quebec. From 1921-1925, Dr. Klaehn was the president of the Canada Synod. He died in Montreal, March 5, 1941.²⁷

POLITICIANS

It is impossible in this work to refer to all Lutherans from Ontario who have been elected to Parliament, but reference must be made to a few.

Major *Henry Merkley* (Markley or Markle) was the first Lutheran to be elected to the Parliament of Upper Canada. He was a United Empire Loyalist. When living in the Mohawk and Schoharie district he was wounded by an anti-British neighbor, was imprisoned but escaped and fought under Sir John Johnson. At the close of the War of the American Revolution he settled in Dundas County where he remained active in the Dundas militia. His son, George, commanded a company of 120 men in the war of 1812-1814. Major Merkley was the leading layman in St. John's Lutheran Church, Riverside, Ontario. The church records refer to him as the "master-builder," of the first church, 1788-1789. Major Merkley served as a member of parliament, 1804-1808. Croil, a Dundas County historian, wrote thus:

Merkley was a U.E. Loyalist, of the Lutheran creed, a blunt honest farmer, possessed of limited education and speaking very broken

English. His homespun suit of Canadian gray, and his ofttimes ludicrous pronunciation of the English language, added to the energetic, and at times vehement style of delivery, frequently eliciting bursts of laughter and applause from the House. He was one, however, neither to be laughed down, nor easily intimidated. He knew nothing of the art of "chiselling," but in his own honest and independent way spoke just as he thought. Respected by all parties as a man of sterling integrity, he was also of jovial disposition, and was a frequent guest at the Governor's table.²⁸

John Cook was born November 28, 1791, on the historically famed Chrysler's Farm in Williamsburg Township. Active in the Dundas militia, he was the first soldier of the Canadian forces to enter Ogdensburg, when that town was captured in the war of 1812-1814. He received a medal for his heroism in the battle of Chrysler's Farm. A few years later he acquired a large tract of land where the village of Williamsburg is now located. When Pastor Hayunga organized the Lutherans in North Williamsburg, John Cook donated to the Lutherans and Presbyterians jointly a parcel of land on which to build a church. Later in 1837, he donated the land on which the Lutheran parsonage was built. He was elected to parliament in 1830 and served continuously for fifteen years. From 1840-1846, Mr. Cook was the leader in presenting the cause of the Lutherans who were seeking some redress for the loss of their property at Riverside. On June 3, 1846, the House of Assembly, under Lord Cathcart, Governor General, voted that £500 be paid to the Lutherans of Dundas County in recognition of their just claim.

Two nephews of John Cook, James W. Cook and Simon Cook were elected to parliament. James served from 1857 to 1861, and Simon from 1867 to 1875. Simon Cook was the first representative from Dundas County to serve in the provincial parliament following confederation. In politics, Simon Cook was a Liberal and in religion a Lutheran.

Sir Adam Beck, the Hydro Knight, was born in Baden, 1858, son of pioneer Lutheran parents, Jacob and Charlotte Beck. He was baptized in the Lutheran church and confirmed fifteen years later by Canada Synod pastor, J. N. Muenzinger. Some years later he donated new lights to his home church. He attended the local school, Dr. Tassis's school in Galt, the Rockwood Academy and Western

University. In 1880, with his two brothers, he started a box factory in Galt, which business was moved to London, Ontario, in 1884. Sir Adam Beck was elected to the Ontario Provincial Legislature in May, 1902. One month later he was invited to a conference of manufacturers held in Berlin (Kitchener) to discuss the possibility of obtaining power from Niagara at wholesale rates and selling it to municipalities with only distribution costs added. From that time on, he became Hydro's champion. Under Premier James Pliny Whitney, he was made minister without portfolio, introduced the Ontario Hydro Commission Act, and was appointed the first chairman, a position which he held for twenty years. He was honored by the King, with the accolade of knighthood. Perhaps no man did more for the prosperity and comfort of the people of Ontario, than Sir Adam Beck. He died of pernicious anemia, August 15, 1925.²⁹

William George Weichel was born in Elmira, July 20, 1871. He served as an alderman and then mayor of Waterloo. Mr. Weichel was elected to the House of Commons as a member from Waterloo North in 1911, defeating a worthy opponent, W. L. Mackenzie King. In 1917, Weichel was defeated by another Lutheran, W. D. Euler. He was a candidate for the Ontario Legislature in 1923 and was elected. In 1934 he retired from political life.

William D. Euler, a native of Kitchener, newspaper publisher and journalist, was first elected to the Dominion Parliament in 1917 as representative for Waterloo North. Under Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Mr. Euler was appointed to a cabinet post with the portfolio of Minister of National Revenue, 1926-1930, Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1935-1940. Then he was elevated to the Senate, a life office in which he is still active. Senator Euler has manifested interest in the progress of Waterloo College and Seminary and served for several years on the Advisory Committee. In 1961 he accepted the office of Chancellor of Waterloo Lutheran University.

Karl Kenneth Homuth was born December 12, 1893, in Preston, Ontario, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Otto Homuth, pioneer members of St. Peter's congregation. He lived in Preston all his life and conducted a wool-reclaiming business which his father had founded. He organized and taught the men's Bible class in his home church, was interested in synodical affairs, and was a delegate of the Canada Synod

to the U.L.C.A. convention in Philadelphia. Upon his return from that convention he exclaimed: "How proud I am that I am a Lutheran." Mr. Homuth was interested in municipal affairs and in 1919 was elected as a Labor member to the Provincial Parliament. In 1938 he was elected to the Dominion House as member for Waterloo South and held that seat until his death, March 19, 1951.³⁰

Arza Clair Casselman, of United Empire Loyalist stock, was a native of Morrisburg, and a member of St. Paul's Lutheran Church. He was first elected to the House of Commons, Ottawa, in 1921, as a member for Grenville-Dundas. He won eleven consecutive elections (1921-1958) equalling the Canadian record. For many years he was the Conservative Whip and was held in high regard by members of all parties. At the 1934 convention of the Canada Synod, he and Prime Minister Bennett were present and participated in the ceremonies at Morrisburg-Riverside which marked the 150th anniversary of Lutheranism in Ontario. Mr. Casselman died in 1958 shortly after winning his eleventh election.

Among other members of Parliament, of the Lutheran Faith, we mention, John Benneweis, elected to represent Perth South, 1917; Eric Winkler, of Hanover, elected 1957; W. O. Weichel, representing Waterloo North, elected 1958.

PUBLISHERS

In earlier chapters mention has been made of Anthony Haenery and the *Halifax Gazette*; Henry Petersen and the Canada Museum; the *Kirchenblatt* and *The Canada Lutheran*; the *Nova Scotia Lutheran*; Von Pirch and the *Deutsche Zeitung*; Senator W. D. Euler, the publisher. To these must be added the printing and publications of Pastor Christiansen and his son E. B. Christiansen in the Pembroke area; also the newspaper published by the Lutheran pastor, Dr. Sommers at Listowel.

The *Kirchenblatt* of the Canada Synod ceased its publication in 1910. In October of the same year *The Canada Lutheran* appeared, published privately by the Rev. J. J. Clemens, then pastor of St. Paul's, Guelph, Ontario. The publication was discontinued until July, 1912, when it was issued as the official organ of the Central Canada Synod. The synodical paper committee then was composed

of J. J. Clemens, editor; P. C. Wike, C. A. Dennig, W. K. Hoyer and E. A. Bartmann. In the first official issue was the statement: "This paper is by no means to crowd out any of the present papers like *The Lutheran*, *The Home and Foreign Missionary*, *The Young Folks* or *The Luther League Review*!" Throughout its history of fifty years it has continued to be a magazine of, for and by the Lutherans of the Canada Synod. For a few years the Nova Scotia Synod and the Manitoba Synod had representatives on its Board of Publication. The editors were: J. J. Clemens, N. Willison, J. F. Bermon, W. A. Mehlenbacher, and A. Buchlow. Dr. N. Willison and Dr. A. Buchlow each served about twenty years. In January, 1960, the Rev. Roy N. Grosz was elected editor-in-chief.

AUTHORS

One of the eminent Canada Synod writers was George E. Merkley of Williamsburg. He was a scholar, proficient in Greek, Latin, Italian, German, Hebrew, Spanish, French, Sanscrit and Chinese. Some of his published works were: *A History of England*, *A French Grammar*, *Stories of Jewish Life*, *Herman and Dorothea*, *Rhymes of a Rambler*. His Chinese tutor, the world-renowned James Legg, was delighted with the way Merkley composed verse in Chinese.

This work will permit not more than the names of some of the Canada Synod authors: E. Hoffman, C. H. Little, N. Willison, C. Klinck, A. Potter, H. Rembe, C. C. J. Maass, H. Lehmann, H. Kalbfleisch, U. Leupold, O. Heick, C. H. Sternberg, Clara Bernhardt, Wm Nolting, and Merle Knauff.

MUSICIANS

In the field of music the outstanding son of the Canada Synod was *Augustus Vogt*. At the age of twelve he was the organist of St. James Lutheran Church, Elmira, Ontario. For three years he pursued post-graduate studies in Germany. Upon his return to Canada he was engaged as the organist and choir director of Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto. In 1891, Vogt was appointed to the faculty of the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Nine years later he founded the Mendelssohn Choir. Its 250 members were hand picked from Toronto's best singers. In 1913 Augustus Vogt was chosen principal

of the Toronto Conservatory of Music. The Conservatory became associated with Toronto University and Vogt was named dean of the Faculty of Music. He was recognized as one of the great musical leaders. His death occurred in 1926.³¹

Among other Lutheran musicians of note we mention Dr. Ulrich Leupold, Elmer Isler and Walter Kemp. In recent years musicians of considerable proficiency have come to Canada from Latvia, Estonia, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. The Latvian and Estonian choirs of Toronto are worthy of mention.

OTHER PROMINENT LUTHERANS

In the King's Honor List, 1943, the name of Mr. George Klein of St. Peter's, Ottawa, appeared as the recipient of the O.B.E. C. H. Sternberg, when employed by the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, won prominent mention for his discoveries in the Red Deer River region in Alberta.

Prominent Lutheran jurists are: Joseph T. Thorson, president of the Exchequer Court of Canada; and Walter Schroeder, Justice of the Ontario Supreme Court.

In the field of education, Waterloo Lutheran University has a worthy role. Graduates of Waterloo hold responsible positions as teachers in colleges and universities. Gerald Hagey is the president of the University of Waterloo and Herbert Kalbfleisch the head of the German department at the University of Western Ontario.

Jack Collins, whose home church is Redcemer, Montreal, is a cartoonist of wide reputation. Genzmer (Bing) Whitteker from St. Peter's, Williamsburg, and Herbert May, from St. Peter's, Ottawa, are well known in the world of radio and television. In a realm which perhaps cannot be classified as cultural, we find Noah Bruso who as "Tommy Burns," a Lutheran from Hanover, was the only Canadian to win the world's heavyweight boxing championship.

The research student will find a Lutheran background in the lives of eminent people such as Hans Lundberg, the Swedish-born geophysicist; Thor Hansen, who designs Canadian motifs for the British-American Oil Company; Shelagh Vanstittart, who introduced Danish furniture in Canada; Bandmaster Frederic Glackemeyer of the Brunswick Dragoons, who came to Canada with Baron Riedesel;

Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, and father of Queen Victoria, who came to Canada in 1791 and is referred to as "our German Prince." When Lutheran settlers in the Niagara peninsula laid their grievances before him, the Prince ordered a cancellation of the settlers' debts saying: "My father is not a merchant to deal in bread and ask payment for food for the relief of his loyal subjects." Others are: the Lutheran clergyman, Justus B. Linderholm of Port Arthur, known for his studies in philology; Hans Lundberg, the geophysical prospector; the Danish-born Deichmanns known for their pottery in New Brunswick; Berczy, who settled the Lutherans in Unionville and Maple, an artist of some note; V. Buckevics, formerly dean of the University of Riga, and now a professor in Toronto; Ingreda Viksna, poetess and novelist, editor of *Latvija America*; T. Kevis, who was awarded the UNESCO scholarship for music in 1950 and a member of the staff of the Royal Conservatory of Music, Toronto; the Finnish-Canadian, Paavs Airola, who has done some elegant oil paintings. Lutheran strains are to be found also in the family of the famous artist, Cornelius Kreighoff, and the celebrated writer Philip Grove.

The writer is quite aware that the above section has just skimmed the surface. Here is a vast field for research. Anyone who wishes to ply it further will find a treasure store of material among the Lutherans of Western Canada.

WIDENING INTERESTS

The somewhat myopic view of the Canada Synod has broadened considerably since 1925. The waves of immigrants following in the wake of two world wars plus the many crying needs of the world and the accelerated means of transportation have caused the synod to raise its sights, broaden its vision, and deepen its sense of stewardship.

Lutheran World Action and Canadian Lutheran World Relief came into being immediately after World War II. The Lutheran World Federation, organized at Lund, Sweden, July 1, 1947, encouraged the formation of national committees. The Canada Committee of L.W.F. was organized May 5, 1948. This committee designated Canadian Lutheran World Relief as its operating relief arm, assumed responsibility for immigration and port workers at Montreal and Halifax, and reactivated the Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Service.

As the result of eight years of effort, dating back to 1944, the

Canadian Lutheran Council came into being December 4, 1952. The Canadian districts of the American Lutheran Church (including the then separate Evangelical Lutheran Church and United Evangelical Lutheran Church;) the United Lutheran Synods in Canada; plus a small group of Lutheran Free Churches, all co-operated in the formation of this council. For all practical purposes the Canadian Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, and the Canadian Lutheran Council functioned as one body. Canadian Lutheran World Relief was retained as the operating relief arm. Divisions of service were set up, such as Student Service, Public Relations, War Service, Welfare, and Canadian Missions. World Missions and World Service were part of its program.³²

In the field of Student Service, the Rev. Robert Langen served for a brief period in Eastern Canada and James Hendrickson in Western Canada. As of 1960 there are four centres located at London, Ontario; Montreal, Quebec; Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; and Edmonton, Alberta; with the following respective pastors in charge: John Vedel, Donald Johnson, Donald Voigts and Herbert Keil.

The material aid arm, Canadian Lutheran World Relief, with which the Missouri Synod Districts co-operate, found a responsive chord in the hearts of Canadians. In the fourteen-year period, 1946-1960, C.L.W.R. sent overseas seven million pounds of relief goods valued at three million dollars. This included four million pounds of food, a million pounds of serviceable used clothing, five thousand pounds of drugs. In the year 1960 C.L.W.R., in co-operation with the Canadian Government, shipped to needy people overseas 1,800,000 pounds of canned pork and 500,000 pounds of dry whole milk. About 20,000 Lutheran immigrants were assisted with transportation loans in the total amount of three million dollars, of which all but one-sixth has been repaid and further repayments will be made by more recent immigrants after they have had time to establish themselves in Canada.

President Reble and later President Jacobi of the Canada Synod have served terms as chairmen of the Canada Committee, L.W.F., and the Canadian Lutheran Council. Dr. W. A. Mehlenbacher and Dr. Earl Treusch, both of the Canada Synod, have served, in turn, as the executive director of the Council. The Rev. Clifton Monk, of the same synod, has held the office of executive secretary of C.L.W.R. for many years.

LUTHERAN UNITY

At various intervals in its century of history the Canada Synod had conferred with the Ontario District of the Missouri Synod with a view to closer fellowship and co-operation. In the first two decades, 1861-1881, there was an unsavory competition, with the result that in certain areas altar was erected against altar. Only occasionally does that happen today. In all fairness let it be recognized that the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod, and later the Canada Synod, had neither the men nor the means to enter every beckoning field. In many places the Lord of the Church has overruled the bickering of the past and brought good out of it.

In 1925, there was a merger of the Central Canada Synod and the Canada Synod. At the 1932 meeting of the Canada Synod, Dr. J. H. Reble presented the following recommendation which was adopted:

That a committee of five, three pastors and two laymen, be appointed to study very thoroughly the history and present state of the Lutheran Church in Canada, to examine especially its immediate needs, to aim at a closer co-operation of the Synods in Canada, and to invite to conferences representatives of the other Synods in Canada of the United Lutheran Church in America.

Under date of August 11, 1932, a somewhat similar petition was presented by the Manitoba Synod to the United Lutheran Church in America.

A Commission on Canadian Survey was appointed by the U.L.C.A. which commission presented a lengthy and helpful report to the 1932 biennial convention. A paragraph of that report and one of the recommendations read thus:

The Future Church of Canada. No question discussed by the pastors at the several conferences aroused deeper interest than the possibility of organizing a United Lutheran Church in Canada . . . embracing the congregations of every synod now on the field. Young Canada was especially concerned. Difficulties in the way were clearly seen and understood; but the formation of such an all inclusive body, holding altar and pulpit fellowship with all parent-bodies in the United States, is a goal toward which every Canadian Lutheran may well strive.

That The United Lutheran Church in America will give its approval, if and when desired, to the organization of an independent United Lutheran Church in Canada, embracing all Lutheran congregations in the Dominion, provided no relationship be established with any other general body of Lutherans that is not established with The United Lutheran Church in America.

The meeting of representatives of the Canadian Synods and Districts prior to and since the formation of the Canadian Lutheran Council has accomplished much toward Canadian Lutheran Unity.

Exploratory Conversations with a view to the formation of a Canadian Lutheran Church have been held annually since 1955. All Lutheran groups have been represented, including the Canada Districts of the Missouri Synod. In 1959 it was agreed that exploratory talks for merger be resumed after 1962 when the larger mergers among parent bodies will have been consummated, and that in the interim there be doctrinal discussions.

When the Lutheran Church in America becomes a reality in 1962, there will be a Canadian section. The new constitution states:

The Lutheran Church in America—Canada Section—shall have full power in the name and stead of this church:

- (a) To be incorporated under the laws of Canada.
- (b) To make approaches to, and have dealings with, the government of Canada and other Canadian authorities.
- (c) To form associations with Lutheran church bodies and other churches in Canada, and to elect commissioners or representatives to such associations.
- (d) To negotiate and consummate union with other Lutheran church bodies in Canada.
- (e) To form at any time a separate and autonomous Lutheran Church in Canada.

STATISTICS

When the Canada Synod was forty years old, 1891, it had on its roll 40 ministers who were serving 85 congregations and preaching stations. The baptized membership was 14,529, and \$24,000 was raised for all purposes. By 1911 the number of souls had increased to 24,600 with \$108,000 raised for all purposes. In 1925 there were 68 pastors, 92 congregations, 26,360 baptized members and the total valuation of church property was estimated at \$1,355,430. The expenditures were \$208,166, of which \$35,811 was for benevolence. Twenty-five years later, in 1950, the summary of statistics reveals 94 pastors, 108 congregations, a baptized membership of 38,051, total expenditures of \$810,381, of which \$285,142 was for benevolence. The Minutes for 1960, which record the statistics for 1959, show 129 pastors, 141 congregations; 63,725 baptized members; valuation of church property, \$11,787,251; expenditures of \$2,048,989, of which \$457,031 was for benevolence.

Other Lutheran Bodies

The American Lutheran Church was organized August 11, 1930, by the merger of the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Iowa Synod and the Buffalo Synod. Thirty years later, in 1960, the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian background) and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish background) united with the above to form a still greater American Lutheran Church. This body will be dealt with in more detail under Western Canada, where it has its centre and greater work. However, some consideration must be given to the Buffalo Synod, Joint Synod of Ohio, Norwegian and Danish Synods, insofar as they labored in Ontario and Quebec.

The Buffalo Synod of the American Lutheran Church had congregations at Gas Line, Port Colborne, Sherkston, Ridgeway, Hanover, Ayton, Neustadt, Brant, and Bentinck. In addition, the Joint Synod of Ohio ministered to St. John's, Ottawa, a congregation founded by the Canada Synod in 1895, and served by G. de Zocher, 1895-1900, and C. Lucas, 1900-1908. Under the Rev. Fred Beer, 1908-1912, St. John's affiliated with the Joint Synod of Ohio. For many years the Rev. Leo J. Ebinger was the pastor.

NORWEGIANS

Norwegian Lutherans settled on the Gaspé Peninsula, in the Province of Quebec, 1859-1860. Among them were Nils Brun, Ovida Olsen and the three brothers, Peter, Ludvig and Frederik Brandt. About thirty families lived in the Brun settlement and seventy families were scattered along the coast for thirty or forty miles. The immigration agent, Christopher Kloster, failed them, and the settlers never forgot the bleak winter of 1861. They faced starvation and almost unbelievable hardships. One of them had brought along an old handmill. Day and night it crushed the corn that was fed into it. When one operator became weary, another took his place. Karen Brun had a cow, but there was no hay at hand to feed it. The hay had to be

carried for five miles through the dense woods. The next summer many of them left the scene of their hardships. By boat they travelled to Montreal, where they had the glad experience of meeting the Norwegian pastor, Abraham Jacobson, who directed them to a new place of settlement.

One of the group who braved the rigors of that Gaspé winter was Nils Christian Brun. He entered Augustana College, 1864, and Augsburg Seminary, 1869, from which he graduated as a Lutheran pastor. He became a well-known preacher, editor, and translator.

Some Norwegians remained in Compton County, Quebec. Two congregations were organized, one in 1876, and the other near Bury, in 1895. Services were conducted by the Rev. N. J. Ellestad and the Rev. K. G. Faegre from Portland, Maine, and by the Rev. S. N. Garmol of Berlin Mills, N.Y. The work was discontinued in 1899.

In Montreal a Norwegian Lutheran Church was organized by Pastor H. A. Preuss, 1884. This work also was discontinued in 1898.

During the period 1870-1875, Scandinavian immigrants settled in the Muskoka district of Ontario. They were met at Montreal by representatives of a lumber company who offered each family 160 acres of land. The immigrants were not told that the land was rocky and covered with trees. By hard labor these hardy people were able to make a living, the men earning wages as laborers in the lumber camps.

The Jarlesburg congregation was organized, May 18, 1876. Occasionally, for thirteen years, services were conducted by M. P. Ruh, J. J. Welo, A. Anderson, H. A. Preuss and J. A. Wang. In 1889 they were a part of O. E. Brandt's field of labor, which included congregations at Cleveland, Akron, Detroit and Buffalo. The missionary was able to be with them for only two months of each year. The Jarlesburg congregation was the first in this far-flung parish to build a church. The president of the Norwegian Synod and Pastor Brandt participated in the dedication. The service started at ten o'clock in the morning and continued until four in the afternoon. One pastor spoke for an hour and a half, and the other for two and a half hours. Patiently and attentively the congregation listened and participated. The service was not too long for them. They felt highly honored to have the president of synod with them and they knew that several months would pass before Pastor Brandt would be able to return. Later a preaching

circuit was arranged, including Gravenhurst and Germania. Pastors were: J. Levorson, 1892-1895; J. G. Nolson, 1896-1897; H. Halvorsen, 1900-1902; K. J. V. Hovde, 1904-1908; A. G. Lind, 1909-1911; A. M. Turmo, 1912-1914.¹

Norwegian Lutheran congregations were founded at Stratton, 1904; Fort Frances, 1907; Port Arthur, 1907; Fort William, 1907; Rainy River, 1910; Keewatin, 1910; Ottawa, 1908-1912; Kenora, 1911.

In the latter part of the year 1856 the Rev. Jacob Schmidt of the Iowa Synod, accompanied by one or two travelling companions, made an extended trip through Ontario with a view to opening a mission among the Indians. His account makes interesting reading but it seems that the Iowa Synod failed to pursue the matter further.²

The Rev. B. Hindel was the Norwegian Seaman's Missionary at Halifax and Lunenburg during World War II.

DANES

The United Danish Lutheran Church entered New Brunswick in 1905. The next year St. Peter's, at Salmonhurst, was organized. A Danish colony had settled there in 1872. For a while they were served by a Lutheran pastor but later the work was taken over by the Anglican Church. In 1905 a number of the Danes withdrew and again formed a Lutheran church. Some years later a sister congregation at New Denmark, five miles east of Salmonhurst, was founded. St. Peter's, Salmonhurst, and Bethany, New Denmark, form one parish. Among the pastors who served this parish were: M. P. Bollese, A. N. Skanderup, F. Jensen, and E. Johansen.

In Saint John, New Brunswick, a Danish Lutheran congregation was started, which had associated with it Zion's at Pugwash, 1933, and Bethany at Wallace, 1930. A Pastor Moeller served for a short time, then Rev. A. Morck, 1943-1946. An appeal for a pastor was made to the Danish Church Abroad. In 1957 this parish became a member of the Nova Scotia Synod, with the Rev. Victor Monk in charge.

St. Ansgar, Toronto, was organized by the Rev. C. C. Kloth of the United Danish Synod, April 13, 1926. Services were held in First Lutheran Church and later in its own church house on Wellesley Avenue. The Rev. V. Bondo was the pastor for seventeen years, until 1947. The church at the corner of Avenue Road and Lawrence was

built in 1947. For the next ten years the Rev. Eric Christiansen was in charge. The present incumbent is Clarence Paulsen.

St. Ansgar, Montreal, was founded in 1927. The first pastor was John M. Jensen. For many years, until 1959, the Rev. Vilhelm Beck was in charge. The church is located at 1837 Dorchester Street, and the pastor is Fred Jensen.

The Danish Church Abroad started a mission in Toronto in 1958, and has missions also in Hamilton, London and St. Catharines.

In 1960-1961 The American Lutheran Church opened two missions, one in Toronto under the Rev. William Menter, and the other in Ottawa with Russel Finkenbine as pastor.

ICELANDERS

On August 25, 1872, one hundred and eighty Icelanders arrived at Quebec. They proceeded to Toronto, from whence some went to Wisconsin and others to the Muskoka district in Ontario. The latter arrived at Rousseau, August 30th, where the men were employed at various points in the area. Some explored Northern Ontario for new and better settlements.

In the summer of 1874, another 365 Icelanders arrived at Quebec. Some went to Nova Scotia, where they and others were ministered to by pastors Roth and Cossman. Most of the party, however, settled in the village of Kinmount, Ontario, some fifty miles from Lindsay, where they were employed in the construction of the Victoria Railway. The following year this work was suspended, leaving the Icelanders in a sorry plight. Some went to Nova Scotia. The others delegated four of their number—S. Arason, C. Johnson, E. Jonesson and S. Jonesson—to investigate proposed sites in the Northwest. Consequently a party of 250 from Kinmount left for Manitoba, September 21, 1875. A few of them stayed in Winnipeg but the majority proceeded north to New Iceland or Gimli. They were the forerunners of the many Icelanders who settled in the Province of Manitoba.³

SWEDES

Dr. M. J. Bieber directed the attention of the Augustana Synod to Toronto in 1914. A Swedish Lutheran church was organized on June 21st of that year. The first services were held in First Lutheran Church on Bond Street.

In Montreal a congregation was founded, 1918.

The first Swedish Lutheran services were held in Kenora, Ontario, 1893. Student Mattson and the Rev. S. Udden were in charge. On August 16, 1894, Bethesda Lutheran congregation was organized. The first service in the new church was on Christmas morning of that year. The following pastors have served the congregation: A. C. Helander, A. J. Ryden, G. S. Larson, B. O. Berg, N. Lehart, A. G. Olson, J. O. Linberg, Dr. Blomgren, P. Petersen, E. Olson, J. E. Bergquist, H. Anderson, O. Winfield and T. Larson.⁴

A Sunday School was started by Pastor Larson at Laclu in the fall of 1938. There, in 1942, a church was dedicated.

Other Swedish Lutheran congregations were founded at the head of the lakes: Immanuel, Fort William, 1906; Port Arthur, 1906; Zion, Fort Frances, 1919; Trinity, Bergland, 1933, and Atikokan.

The head of the lakes, geographically and ecclesiastically, belongs to Western Canada. Fuller detail of these congregations will be found in Volume II.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD

Among the patriarchs of the Missouri Synod, *Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther* holds a pre-eminent place. He was born on October 25, 1811, at Langenchursdorf in Saxony. When eighteen years of age, in the fall of 1829, he entered the University of Leipzig, an institution where rationalism reigned supreme. Theology as his course of study had been chosen for him by his father, who "declared that he would set him adrift without a farthing if he should 'turn musician' but promised him a thaler a week if he would study theology."

In the university was a small group of students who were opposed to the rationalistic and unionistic tendencies of that time. This band, led by theological candidate Kuehn, utilized spare hours in studying the writings of Arendt, Franke, Spener, Rambach and Fresenius. Into this circle Walther was introduced by his elder brother. His studies and meditations led him into deep anguish bordering on despair. While his conscience was exceedingly troubled, Walther was providentially guided to seek the advice of Martin Stephan, pastor of a Bohemian congregation at Dresden, who was renowned as a spiritual advisor and Gospel preacher. A letter from this pastor, in which the Gospel was unfolded, brought peace of mind and soul to the troubled student.

Upon completion of his studies, Walther became a private tutor, 1834-1836. He was ordained, in 1837, and was called to a congregation in Saxony which had not heard the pure Gospel for forty years. Faithful to his vows, Walther sought to change the prevailing conditions, only to find that many obstacles were placed in his way. His first year of active service in the ministry was beset with almost unsurmountable difficulties, which led to litigations, of which he was compelled to pay the cost.

Other Lutheran pastors and laymen in Saxony were suffering for a like reason, so that it required little encouragement from Pastor Stephan to bring some 700 persons to the decision to emigrate to America. Stephen and Walther, together with other ministers and laymen of this group, placed part of their possessions in a common treasury. Five ships were chartered which departed from Bremerhafen in November, 1838. One ship, the *Amalia*, with crew and passengers was lost at sea, but the others came safely to port at New Orleans, one arriving on the last day of the year and another in January.

These Saxons settled in the city of St. Louis and in Perry County, Missouri. Stephan was made their bishop and to him they pledged allegiance and obedience. Unfortunately, he proved unworthy of this honored position. He appropriated large sums of money from the common treasury for his own use and began the construction of a magnificent episcopal palace. Soon he was found guilty of shameful immoral conduct and was deposed from office.

Walther then became the acknowledged leader. To him fell the gigantic task of undoing the hierarchical teachings and practices of Stephan, overcoming the doubts and lack of confidence of the people, and establishing again Lutheran doctrine and practices, in all of which he was greatly assisted by his fellow pastors. In Perry County a log schoolhouse was erected, which has developed into two institutions, Concordia College at Fort Wayne, Ind., and Concordia Seminary at St. Louis, Mo.

In 1841, Walther was called to St. Louis as pastor of the Saxons who settled in that city. The following year Trinity Church was built and six years later a second church, Immanuel's, was erected. In 1844, under the guidance of Walther, a church paper, *Der Lutheraner*, was published, the articles in which attracted the attention and interest

of Lutheran pastors of other synods. Among those interested were Friederich Conrad Wyneken, Adam Ernst, Dr. Sihler, and Gottlieb Schaller. In the spring of 1846, pastors Sihler, Ernst and Lochner had a conference with Walther and the Saxon minister at St. Louis. Further conferences were held in the same year, at which a constitution was drafted. The result of these meetings was the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States. The organization was effected at Chicago, April, 1847, the charter list including twelve congregations, twenty-two ministers and two candidates. Walther was elected the first president and *Der Lutheraner*, with Walther as editor, was adopted as the official organ of the Synod.⁵

In the year of organization, 1847, the Missouri Synod numbered 4,099 souls. A century later (statistics of 1948), the baptized membership had increased to 1,694,024 souls. Of the thirty-one districts, four are within the Dominion of Canada.

THE ONTARIO DISTRICT

Among the pastors listed as charter members of Missouri Synod, the Rev. Adam Ernst stands out prominently. He, in turn, became the father of the Ontario District.

Johann Adam Ernst was born November 27, 1815, in Ottingen, Germany. As a youth he learned and practised the cobbler's trade. At the age of twenty-six, he heard the Macedonian Call from America, which came to him through the pleas of Dr. Wynekin, and Pastor Lohe. He studied theology under Lohe and came to America as Lohe's first missionary, 1842. Upon the advice of Prof. F. Winkler of the theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod, he went to Columbus, Ohio, to enrol at that institution. Following his seminary course, he was ordained in Detroit, 1845, by the Ohio Synod. His first parish was at Marysville, Ohio, where he agreed to serve the congregation for one year without salary, the congregation to provide food and shelter. Ernst kept up a correspondence with Lohe, and, with others of Lohe's missionaries, came in contact with the Saxon Lutherans of Missouri. He soon found that he was in doctrinal accord with the Saxons, met with them at conferences and became a charter member of the Missouri Synod. In 1849, Ernst was called to Eden, N.Y., to serve a congregation which had formerly belonged to the Buffalo Synod. His mission-

ary enthusiasm constrained him to make journeys into the Allegheny district; into Cattaraugus County, N.Y., and into Ontario, organizing several congregations. Due to a severe throat ailment, he was compelled to return to his old trade as cobbler, but by 1860 he had recuperated to the extent that he was able to accept a call to Euclid, Ohio. Three years later, Ernst accepted a call to Floradale and Elmira in Ontario, in which province he continued to serve for eighteen years, years of active leadership, which won for him the affectionate title: "Father of the Ontario District."⁶

In the early part of the nineteenth century Colonel Thomas Talbot received a grant of five thousand acres of land in the district now covered by Elgin and parts of the neighboring counties. To attract immigrants and facilitate their settlement, Talbot built a road, which ran through St. Thomas parallel to Lake Erie, and was later extended to Niagara and Windsor. Even prior to Talbot's efforts, a German settler from Pennsylvania, Lucas Dederick, had come to Norfolk in 1793, and had built a log cabin on the high land overlooking the marsh about one and one-half miles west of Port Rowan. In 1847, a large influx of German Lutherans from Württemberg, numbering eighty families, settled in Middleton Township southwest of Delhi. Prominent among these German settlers was the Jacob Beck family. This family was the first German family to establish a home in the settlement, perhaps as early as 1845, and through their influence the Kohl, Gehring, Hanselamn, Veit, Voigt, Glenk, Beyer, Armbrust, Reuter, Hoerber, Fick, Lowenstein and other families came to Middleton.⁷

While engaged in hewing down the forest, the settlers assembled for worship each Sunday in one of the homes. For a few years they worshipped without the leadership of a pastor. In 1851 a travelling preacher by the name of Wert was engaged to visit them twenty times in a year. After a few calls, Wert disappeared.

Through friends at Fisherville, the settlers were introduced to the Rev. Adam Ernst of Eden, N.Y. Ernst came to Rhineland in 1854, conducting the first service on February 28th. On Whitsunday of the same year St. Peter's congregation was organized. Ernst visited the congregation every four weeks until 1855, when the first resident pastor was called.⁸

The Reverend Johannes Edmund Roder, formerly a missionary

among the Indians in Michigan, was installed by Ernst, January 14, 1855.⁹ During his pastorate a church and parsonage were erected. In 1861, C. Sprengler succeeded Roder. A second church and parsonage were built, 1863, on the present church site, many of the members being of the opinion that the original site was too secluded. This action caused a split in the congregation. The members, holding the old property, applied to the Canada Synod for a pastor and were served for ten years by pastors Christian F. Spring, F. Ehinger, and A. Rehn.

When Sprengler resigned in 1864 to follow a call to New Hamburg, Minnesota, there were 208 souls in the Rhineland congregation.¹⁰ Among his successors were: F. W. Arendt, 1864-1868; J. H. Von Brandt, 1869-1873; F. W. Franke, 1873-1878. The last-named came from the Canada Synod. During his pastorate the two congregations were reunited, the first church was torn down and the parsonage used as a schoolroom.

A church erected in 1913 was destroyed by lightning in 1937, and the following year the present brick structure was dedicated. St. Peter's, Rhineland, is the oldest Missouri Lutheran congregation in Canada, the congregation having joined the Synod in 1854.

A few years previous to the German settlement in Rhineland, a group of Germans from Alsace Lorraine took up homesteads in the southern part of Haldimand County near Fisherville, Ontario. Traveling preachers of German descent, living in or near Buffalo, perhaps some of them loosely connected with the New York Ministerium, preached occasionally in the new settlement and baptized children. The first services were held in the homes. A tract of land was purchased from one Benjamin Ullamn, and a church erected on the site of the present cemetery grounds, south of the village. A resident pastor was called, but remained only a short time. Other pastors, some of them very incompetent, followed in quick succession.

A petition was forwarded to the Missouri Synod. Rev. A. Ernst of Eden, N.Y., and C. Diehlmann of Buffalo, N.Y., visited the parish in 1854, and in the following year the latter was called as resident pastor.¹¹ After one year in Fisherville, Diehlmann accepted a call to St. Louis. The congregation was loathe to have him leave, but when Dr. Walther personally came to Fisherville and pointed out the

importance of this change, they assented and called candidate Hugo Hanser, whom Walther had brought with him from St. Louis.¹² After a successful pastorate of four years, Hanser went to Johnnesburg, N.Y., and was succeeded by J. E. Roder, who had been the first pastor in the neighboring congregation at Rhineland. Roder reported 355 souls in 1864. In 1868 he was succeeded by F. W. Arendt, who in turn was followed by Linsenmann, who came in 1873 from the Wartburg, Ontario, congregation. Linsenmann served a very fruitful ministry. A new church was built in 1874 which accommodated the congregation for eighty years.¹³

While Holy Ghost congregation was in existence prior to St. Peter's congregation in Rhineland, yet it was not affiliated with the Missouri Synod until 1857. Thus it was the second Missouri Lutheran congregation in Canada. Linsenmann's successors were: M. Halboth, 1881-1889; A. Kraft, 1890-1899; S. B. Erb, 1899-1920; H. W. Brege, 1921-1941; W. D. Bauer, 1941-1951; C. A. Lentz, 1951.

Missionary tours into Waterloo County, by pastors Ernst, Sprengler and Roder, bore fruit when candidate H. W. Wichmann of the St. Louis Seminary was installed as pastor of Trinity congregation, Floradale, Ontario, April 29, 1860.¹⁴ As early as 1852 one Carl T. Lawrensen ministered at this place.

A pastoral vacancy occurred at that time in St. James' Lutheran congregation at Elmira, Ontario, and Wichmann was requested to add it to his parish. After eighteen months' service, during which time a split occurred in the Elmira congregation, Wichmann resigned as pastor of St. James', and organized St. Paul's, Missouri, Lutheran congregation with those members who withdrew from the mother church.

On August 2, 1863, the Rev. Adam Ernst was installed as Wichmann's successor, and was given an assistant in the person of F. Dubpernell.¹⁵ In Wallace, where missionary work had been commenced by Wichmann, St. Peter's congregation was definitely organized in 1864, and Dubpernell placed in charge. In 1873 the Floradale-Elmira parish was divided. Ernst moved to Elmira, and Floradale extended a call to C. T. W. Brandt.

For eighteen years, 1863-1881, Ernst served the Elmira church, during which time he also re-organized the Bindemann congregation in Berlin (Kitchener) and added it to his charge in 1867. Ernst was an

energetic missionary. Besides the above-mentioned congregations, he was active in serving and securing pastors for congregations at Wellesley, Petersburg, Linwood, Wallace, and Magnetewan. Pastor Ernst's successors in Elmira were: P. Graupner, 1899-1914; R. A. Eiffert, 1914-1918; A. H. Gallmeier, 1918-1929; F. P. Malinsky, 1929.

In the fifteen-year period immediately preceding the organization of the Canada District (now Ontario District) of the Missouri Synod, twenty-five congregations came under the pastoral care of the Missouri Synod. Of this number, nine were entirely new congregations organized by Missouri pastors, thirteen had previously been organized or served by the Canada Synod pastors, two came from the Buffalo Synod, and one from Bindemann's free church in Berlin.¹⁶ The following, which had formerly been connected with the Canada Synod, accepted the ministry of Missouri Lutheran pastors in the year indicated: Wellesley and Pool (A. Ernst, 1864); First Lutheran, Logan (F. Dubpernell, 1867); Petersburg (H. Koch, 1867); Wartburg (C. Lohrmann, 1870); Sebringville (H. Succop, 1872)¹⁷; Dashwood (D. Graf, 1873); Grace, Locksley (families withdrawing from St. Paul's, Locksley); St. Stephen's, Alice; Zion's, Augsburg; and St. John's, Germanicus (families withdrawing from St. John's, Wilburforce, under F. W. Franke and H. W. Schroeder, 1873-1874); Stratford (F. Dubpernell, 1877); St. James', Normanby (H. Bruer, 1878).

In Welland County, the two Buffalo Synod congregations, St. John's and St. Peter's at Gas Line and Humberstone village respectively, were considerably affected by the controversies between the Buffalo Synod. They called the Rev. Heinrich Koch of the Missouri Synod, 1869.¹⁸

As a result of the missionary efforts of the pioneer pastor, F. Dubpernell, Trinity congregation in Howick was organized in 1868. In 1872, H. Bruer was called to this parish and served here for forty-five years. Dubpernell also organized the Missouri congregation in Linwood, 1871, and was the original missionary at Listowel, which latter congregation, at an early date, joined the Canada Synod.

In Ottawa, where a group of Germans from Pomerania had settled, Pastor H. Schroeder organized St. Paul's Lutheran Church,¹⁹ November, 1874, which started a school, 1895, budding into St. Lucas' congregation, 1914. August Senne was the first resident Lutheran

pastor in the capital city of Canada. From Ottawa, he and J. C. Borth made missionary trips into the Province of Quebec, where in the neighborhood of High Falls a group of Germans had taken up homesteads. St. Paul's congregation, High Falls, was organized November 11, 1878, and about the same time St. Matthew's at Inlet, Quebec, came into existence.

Continuing his service as missionary in Renfrew County, Schroder visited Palmer Rapids, 1875, and laid the spiritual foundations which later resulted in the Palmer Rapids-Lyndoch-Purdy parish.

Emmanuel congregation at Jordan, near St. Catharines, was organized, Pentecost Sunday, 1875, by Pastor Linsenmann, and the following year, at Mt. Forest, St. John's congregation was organized by H. Bruer, who added it to the Howick parish.

A beginning in the Parry Sound and Muskoka district was made by the Rev. A. Ernst when, in 1879, he organized a church at Magnetewan.

In 1853, a resolution was adopted to divide the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, into four districts. Western, Central, Northern and Eastern.²⁰ Since Ernst and Diehlmann, the first Missouri Lutheran pastors to do work in Canada were members of the Eastern District, it was decided to include Ontario in that district. This arrangement continued until 1875, when the congregations in Canada were transferred to the Northern District. However, it was soon felt that, due to geographical and political conditions, it would be wise to form a separate district in Canada. A memorial to this effect was presented to the synod in 1878, and permission was granted to form the Canada District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States. The first meeting of the new District was held April 17-23, 1879, in St. Paul's Church, Elmira, Ontario. Officers elected were: president, A. Ernst; vice-president, W. Linsenmann; secretary, H. Schroder.²¹ The statistics indicated fourteen pastors, eight congregations affiliated with the Missouri Synod, and nineteen congregations not yet members of synod. The total number of souls was 3,756.²²

Under the presidential leadership of A. Ernst (1879-1882) Christian Hochstetter (1882), F. Dubpernell (1883-1888), and F. Bente, the first decade of the Canada District history showed an increase of

3,947 souls, which was a doubling of the membership.²³ Among the congregations received in the first decade were: Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, Mitchell, Ontario, which came to Missouri from the Canada Synod, 1880; St. Paul's, Tavistock, which had been organized by eleven members, 1881, as a Reformed church, and re-organized the following year as a Lutheran church by F. Dubpernell. In the Parry Sound and Muskoka district congregations were organized by W. Gans, 1882, at Deer Lake and Commanda, which were linked up with the Magnetewan congregation. The following year in Petawawa Township, Renfrew County, Christ Church was organized. The Lutheran congregation at Monkton, Ontario, dates back to 1889, in which year it was organized by H. Landsky.²⁴ This congregation was first joined with Wartburg, but later formed part of the Logan parish.

The second decade of the Canada District's history witnessed an increase of 2,686 souls, bringing the total baptized membership to 10,389. At the convention, 1894, the District was divided into two circuits, the eastern circuit comprising Renfrew County and all parishes east; while all the other parishes formed the western circuit.

Free conferences were held with the Canada Synod in 1892 and 1893, but the results were negligible,²⁵ the Canada Synod withdrawing from further conferences when it became plain that the interest was diminishing. While several theses on the ministry were adopted, the discontinuance of the conferences was due chiefly to the fact that the Buffalo Synod pastors refused to participate in the conference.

Four congregations were added to the District in this decade. At Pembroke, Ontario, where services had been held by Missouri pastors since 1875, the organization of St. John's Lutheran Church was effected by the Rev. L. Schmidt, 1891. Zion's congregation at Silverlake, in Renfrew County, assumed a more permanent form when a church was built at that place in 1893. In the same year a mission was started at Eganville, Ontario, being organized by those members of St. John's, Germanicus, who lived in Eganville. In the western circuit, at Clifford, Ontario, a Sunday School was started in 1894 which virtually marks the beginning of St. John's Lutheran congregation.

From the opening of the twentieth century, the progress was moderate for the first forty years. In 1898 the figures were 10,389 souls. *The Statistical Year Book* for 1937, and published in 1938, revealed

that there were 38 pastors serving 57 congregations and 13 preaching stations with a total baptized membership of 13,792 souls. This would indicate an average yearly increase of 88 souls. However, it was a time of internal strengthening. Substantial church buildings were erected, property generally improved, and contributions to missions very materially increased. In 1924-1925 the receipts for missions amounted to \$12,832.12. By 1931 the mission receipts had increased to \$28,500, enabling the District from January, 1933, to become self-sustaining, no longer requiring a subsidy from the mother synod for home mission work. In 1922 a petition was forwarded to the General body requesting permission to change the name of the District from "Canada" to "Ontario." In view of the fact that two districts of the Missouri Synod had been organized in Western Canada, the request was granted.²⁶

Brief mention is made here of other congregations added to the roll of the Ontario District. St. John's, Desboro, Ontario, which had been organized by the Buffalo Synod, 1896, called a Missouri Lutheran pastor in 1900. St. John at Snyder, Ontario, organized by the Canada Synod, 1867, came under the Missouri Synod ministry in 1903 when the Rev. Huegli of Humberstone took charge. The Toronto Mission, started in 1902, was definitely organized in 1907. St. Peter's congregation was organized in Stratford, 1911, and a new congregation was started in St. Catharines, 1912. Two years later, 1914, some members of St. Paul's congregation, Ottawa, were honorably dismissed to organize St. Luke's congregation in that city.

From 1907-1909 the New Ontario district was surveyed and missions ultimately were opened at Waubewawa, Cobalt, Iroquois Falls, Timmins, Kirkland Lake, Sudbury, etc.²⁷

The congregation in Germania, Muskoka district, formerly served by the Canada Synod affiliated with the Missouri Synod, 1915.

In New Hamburg, St. Peter's congregation, which had been organized in 1910 and served by pastors of the General Synod, turned to the Missouri Synod, 1918. When the Rev. L. Brenner, Canada Synod pastor at Baden, Ontario, joined Missouri Synod in 1921, some of the members followed him and thus St. John's Missouri Lutheran congregation at Baden came into existence.

Other congregations were either started or organized at: London, 1920; Marmion, 1921; Hamilton, 1924; North Bay, 1926; Oshawa and

Montreal, 1927; Niagara Falls, 1930; Sudbury, 1930; Toronto, Trinity, 1931; Sarnia, 1934; Simcoe, 1940; Hanover from the Buffalo (ALC) Synod, 1946; Tillsonburg, 1948; St. Thomas, 1948; West Lorne, 1951; Our Saviour, Ottawa, 1951; Our Saviour, Toronto, 1955; plus recently organized missions in Niagara Falls, St. Catharines, Stoney Creek, Dunnville, Ottawa and Burlington.

From 1909-1918, the Ontario District was under the able leadership of president W. C. Boese. The Rev. Frank Malinsky was the chief executive, 1921-1948. His successors were the Rev. W. O. Rathke, 1948-1960, and Philip Fiess, 1960-

The Rev. Frank Paul Malinsky was born January 13, 1890, at Iola, Illinois. He graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, 1912, in which year he accepted a call to St. Peter's Lutheran Church at Stratford, Ontario, where he continued to serve until 1917. Subsequent pastorates were Normanby-Howick, 1917-1927; Sebringville, 1927-1929; Elmira, 1929-. He was elected president of the Ontario District in 1921 and held that position for twenty-seven years. From 1922 to 1927 he was the editor of the *Ontario District Bulletin*.²⁸

In January, 1871, the first issue of the *Lutherisches Volksblatt* came from the press of Delion Brothers in Elmira. The editor from 1871-1881 was the Rev. A. Ernst. For twenty-nine years, twice a month, the *Volksblatt* continued to enter the homes of the Missouri Lutherans in Canada, but publication was suspended in 1900 due to a lack of financial support, and a feeling on the part of some of the pastors that *Der Lutheraner*, published in the United States, could satisfactorily cover the field. In 1902 the *Volksblatt* was again issued but appeared in smaller format and only once a month. The paper continued with various changes of form until 1918, when publication ceased for a second time.²⁹ Three years later, the Ontario District resolved that the president issue a quarterly *Bulletin* to be distributed gratis. The president, F. Malinsky, edited the *Bulletin* until 1927. Other editors were: M. Toewe, M. Bruer and A. F. Pollex. Beginning in January, 1946, the *Bulletin* appeared as a one-page insert in the *Lutheran Witness*.

OTTAWA

Pastor H. W. Schroeder of Locksley, Ontario, visited Ottawa, November 8, 1874, where, six days later, he organized St. Paul's

Lutheran congregation. A church was dedicated November 14, 1875. The Rev. August Senne was the first resident pastor 1875-1881. His successor was the Rev. J. C. Borth, 1881-1897. During Borth's pastorate the stone church at King Edward and Wilbrod Streets was erected. The Rev. William Moll came in 1897, and dedicated a Christian Day School, 1899. His successors were: G. Eifrig, 1903-1909; Herman Ruhland 1909-1931; W. H. Mundinger, M. J. Michall, G. H. Raedeke, Ernest Kanning.

In New Edinburgh, then a suburb of Ottawa, St. Paul's established a school, 1895. Eighty families of St. Paul's were released, in 1914, to found St. Lucas congregation in New Edinburgh. A church was dedicated, October 24, 1915. St. Lucas has been served by Albert Orzen, 1915-1922; Alfred Daschner, 1922-1946; R. Witt, 1947-1953; M. Renner, 1953.

Our Saviour Lutheran Church, in the Westboro section of Ottawa, was organized October 15, 1951, and served by the Rev. R. Witt of St. Lucas congregation for two years. The present incumbent is the Rev. Willard Mueller. Mt. Calvary Lutheran Church, Ottawa, Emil Polster, pastor, is the most recent mission of the Missouri Synod.

LONDON

For twenty years 1895-1915, a struggling Lutheran mission had been maintained in London, Ontario, served by various Lutheran bodies including the Canada Synod. The church was located on the corner of Wellington and Grey Streets. During World War I the congregation disbanded. . . . Five years later the Rev. Paul Graupner of Dashwood conducted a service. In July, 1921, the Rev. M. J. Bruer was called as pastor. A church was dedicated October 11, 1924. The Rev. C. H. Killinger assumed charge in 1925 and has continued as pastor for thirty-six years, years which have witnessed good progress and the establishment of a daughter congregation, named 'Church of Our Saviour'.

NIAGARA PENINSULA

In the Niagara Peninsula at Niagara Falls and St. Catharines virile Lutheran congregations were developed by the Missouri Synod. Christ Lutheran at St. Catharines had its beginning in 1912. For fifteen years the progress was moderate. Rapid development was evident during the pastorate of the Rev. O. W. Rathke 1929-1952. A new church was

built in 1941. The number of communicants increased to 400. As the result of the energetic labors of pastor Rathke and his successors D. Ortner, and T. Schulze, a daughter congregation, Grace Lutheran Church, was nurtured and organized. Grace congregation, with pastor R. Scholz in charge has a membership of 300 confirmed.

After preliminary work by pastors W. O. Rathke, A. Preisinger and M. J. Bruer, the Rev. M. C. Weissbach was installed, 1931, as pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church at Niagara Falls. For thirty years he has served this congregation and guided its development to a congregation of 1,000 souls, a growth which led to the organizing of a daughter congregation, Our Saviour, which later is currently served by the Rev. Edmund Bauer.

WINDSOR

Pastor Werfelman of Detroit conducted a service in Windsor in 1917. Three years later First Lutheran congregation was organized by A. H. Loeber, also of Detroit. The first resident pastor was H. B. Fehner. A house chapel served as a place of worship until 1928, when the present building was dedicated. Pastor H. J. Storm came to Windsor in 1935, and during his long pastorate the membership grew to 1,500. He was an enthusiastic missionary who did the ground work which resulted in the establishment of several congregations in that area. He organized the Lutheran congregation at Kingsville, 1942, which in turn fostered a new congregation in Harrow, organized May 25, 1952. Pastor Storm started new work in the east side of Windsor which resulted in the organization of Peace Lutheran Church. In 1942 and 1943 he conducted services in Chatham, where a congregation was organized and a church built, 1948. In West Lorne, where in 1946 the first services had been conducted by Dr. U. Leupold and the Rev. John Mangelson, Pastor Storm revived the work. Grace Lutheran Church, West Lorne, was formally organized in 1951.

KITCHENER

St. Paul's in Kitchener came under the care of the Missouri Synod in 1867 when members of the Bindemann church invited the Rev. A. Ernst of Elmira to serve them. He very earnestly made known unto them his convictions and placed definite propositions before them. Under Ernst the church must be Lutheran in deed and in truth. The

congregation agreed and Ernst became their pastor, serving them from Elmira until 1881. Pastor Andres was the first resident pastor of the Missouri Synod, 1881-1894. Under his guidance the present church was built, 1889. The Rev. W. C. Boese served St. Paul's for twenty-six years, 1896-1922. He was also president of the Ontario District, 1909-1918. Pastor Boese succumbed to a heart attack, January 1, 1922, while on his way to conduct a service at Linwood. Subsequent pastorates were served by A. Orzen, 1922-1943; A. Eissfeldt, 1943.³⁰

In May, 1935, St. Paul's released fifty members to establish Redeemer Lutheran Church, Waterloo. From 1942-1951 C. T. Wetzstein was in charge of Redeemer. He organized Bethel Lutheran Church, 1949, and became its pastor in 1951. He was succeeded by the Rev. W. O. Rathke in 1952. Pastor Rathke had served parishes in Northern Ontario, and at St. Catharines. From 1948-1960 he was the president of the Ontario District.

When Trinity congregation of the American Lutheran Church dissolved, some of the members appealed to the Missouri Synod. Under Pastor C. T. Wetzstein of Waterloo, Grace Church was organized, 1944. The congregation erected a church building at the corner of Margaret Avenue and Louisa Street in Kitchener.

Holy Cross is another daughter congregation of St. Paul's. In 1947 property was obtained in the East ward of Kitchener, and the Rev. D. G. Meyer accepted a call. A new church was dedicated in 1950.

Reference has been made to the organization of Bethel congregation. The membership consisted chiefly of German New Canadians. Services were held at various places until 1952, when the Mennonite property on Church Street was purchased. Bethel is served by the Rev. C. T. Wetzstein. The membership is about 700.

In the missionary outreach of the Ontario District much credit is due to the Field Secretary, the Rev. H. H. Erdman.

TORONTO

St. John's Lutheran Church, Toronto, had its beginning in 1902 under the Rev. D. Kleist. There was little growth and the congregation virtually disbanded. In 1909 a fresh and vigorous attempt to revive the work was made by H. Hamann. In 1910 a lot was purchased at the corner of Shaw and Irene streets, on which a chapel was erected

where the congregation worshipped until 1930. Hamann's immediate successor was the Rev. Walter Lichtsinn.

In January, 1919, the Rev. *Ernst Hahn* was ordained and installed in St. John's. There he served his entire ministry, a period of thirty-two years. When in 1921 the Canada District became the Ontario District, St. John's chose to affiliate with the English District Missouri. The present church on Concord Avenue was dedicated February 9, 1930. By 1950 St. John's had grown to 1,000 souls. During Pastor Hahn's ministry, missionary activity was emphasized. The basement of the church was made available to the new Trinity Lutheran congregation, 1931-1932. After World War II the church sponsored Latvian and Estonian services. These congregations were later organized with about 1,600 souls each. A great interest was manifested in Mohammedan missions. One of Pastor Hahn's sons, Ernest, studied for the ministry and served among the Mohammedans in India. Pastor Hahn departed this life, August 4, 1951.³¹

Under the Rev. George W. Bornemann, pastor of St. John's, 1951-1960, the missionary spirit continued.³² In April, 1953, services were started in Port Credit and in Scarborough, conducted by Pastor Bornemann. The Rev. Arne Kristo was installed as pastor of St. Mark's, Port Credit, 1953, and the Rev. T. Pelikan as pastor of St. Matthew's in Scarborough, 1954. A Polish Lutheran church was nourished in St. John's, 1954-1960. Pastor Bornemann began mission work in Willowdale, December, 1954, which mission extended a call to the Rev. Karl Schweder, 1956. On September 11, 1955, Sister Jean Hoover was installed as deaconess for St. John's, the first Missouri Synod deaconess to serve in a Canadian parish. In the same year the Rev. F. A. Gumz was installed at St. John's as pastor to Lutheran students in the University of Toronto. Near the campus a University Chapel was dedicated, February 1, 1960. Rev. Bornemann preached his farewell sermon August 2, 1959, and was succeeded by the Rev. Karl Riehl.

Trinity, 'Toronto, was organized by the Rev. J. F. Schutt, 1932. The first services were held in the basement of St. John's Church. The Chinese Mission on Bay Street was used until 1945, in which year a basement church on Sherbourne Street was erected. Seven years later, the superstructure was added. Following the pastorate of

J. F. Schutt, the congregation was served by E. Lewerenz, F. G. Brasch and A. F. Pollex. For a few years Trinity made its facilities available to an Estonian congregation, under Pastor John Teras, and to a Latvian congregation under Pastor A. Lusiš.

The Minnesota District of the Missouri Synod has congregations at Atikokan, Dinorwic, Dryden, Fort Frances, Fort William, Moose Hill, Pardee, Port Arthur, Rainy River, Schreiber and Waldhof.

Slovak Evangelical Lutheran congregations are located at Barrie, Bradford, Chatham, Fort William, Inwood, Iroquois Falls, Kingsville, Smithville, South Porcupine, Timmins, Windsor, and Montreal.

The small National Evangelical Lutheran Church is serving Lutheran missions at Fort William, Intola, Nipigon, Nolalu and Port Arthur.

CONCLUSION

This history has been published to mark the Centennial of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, the oldest Lutheran Synod in the Dominion. The Church pauses to examine its history and girds itself for the problems and opportunities of the present and the challenges of the future. The reader is invited to look back, then forward, and constantly look up to the Lord of the Church.

An editor of a church paper wrote these thought-provoking words:

Where are the churches that give the impression of living with the awareness that they have no more than a few years, perhaps a few months, left in which to press on a doomed society their offer of salvation? I'd like to see churches and church organizations spend less time celebrating the fact that they have been going for a hundred or two hundred or five hundred years, and more on the prospect that they may only have ten or twenty or fifty years to go.

TABLE OF CANADA SYNOD OFFICERS

<i>Place</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice-President</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>
1861 Vaughan	C. F. W. Rechenberg		L. H. Gerndt	Van der Smissen
1862 Ellice	C. F. W. Rechenberg		L. H. Gerndt	J. Fishburn
1863 Heidelberg	J. Fishburn	C. F. W. Rechenberg	F. Ehinger	Prof. Schlucter
1864 Berlin	J. Fishburn	H. C. Kaehler	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1865 Heidelberg	J. Fishburn	C. F. W. Rechenberg	C. F. Spring	Van der Smissen
1866 Vaughan	H. C. Kaehler	C. F. W. Rechenberg	L. H. Gerndt	Van der Smissen
1867 Sebastopol	H. C. Kaehler	C. F. W. Rechenberg	L. H. Gerndt	Van der Smissen
1868 Philipsburg	H. C. Kaehler	C. F. W. Rechenberg	L. H. Gerndt	Van der Smissen
1869 Berlin	J. Fishburn	H. C. Kaehler	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1870 Heidelberg	J. Fishburn	H. C. Kaehler	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1871 Unionville	J. Fishburn	C. F. W. Rechenberg	F. Zahn	Van der Smissen
1872 Elmira	C. F. W. Rechenberg	C. F. W. Rechenberg	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1873 Logan Township	J. Fishburn	C. F. W. Rechenberg	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1874 Heidelberg	J. Fishburn	C. F. W. Rechenberg	F. Ehinger	Van der Smissen
1875 Sebastopol	J. Fishburn	C. F. Spring	F. Schimmel	Van der Smissen
1876 New Hamburg	E. Wurster	C. F. Spring	A. R. Schultz	Van der Smissen
1877 Normanby	J. Fishburn	I. M. Wurster	Schneider	Van der Smissen
1878 Elmira	J. Fishburn	C. F. Spring	A. R. Schultz	Van der Smissen
1879 Stonebridge	E. Wurster	C. F. Spring	A. R. Schultz	Van der Smissen
1880 Waterloo	C. F. Spring	J. Brezing	v. Pirch	Van der Smissen
1881 Toronto	C. F. Spring	J. Brezing	v. Pirch	Van der Smissen
1882 Berlin	F. Veit	J. Brezing	v. Pirch	Van der Smissen
1883 Heidelberg	F. Veit	J. Brezing	(Eng. Sec'y, H. A. Kinnard)	Van der Smissen
1884 Sebastopol	F. Veit	J. Brezing	(Eng. Sec'y, H. A. Kinnard)	Van der Smissen
1885 Brant	J. Brezing	C. F. Spring	(Eng. Sec'y, H. A. Kinnard)	Van der Smissen
1886 Hamilton	J. Brezing	C. F. Spring	(Eng. Sec'y, H. A. Kinnard)	Van der Smissen

<i>Place</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice-President</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>
1887 Logan Township	J. Brezing	C. F. Spring	E. M. Genzmer	Van der Smissen
1888 Zurich	F. Veit	A. R. Schultz	E. M. Genzmer	F. Nitardy
1889 Normanby	F. Veit	A. R. Schultz	E. M. Genzmer	F. Nitardy
1890 Baden	F. Veit	A. R. Schultz	E. Hoffmann	F. Nitardy
1891 Sebastopol	F. Veit	J. Strempfer	E. Hoffmann	J. Maass
1892 Hespeler	A. R. Schultz	J. Strempfer	E. Hoffmann	J. Goos
1893 Philipsburg	A. R. Schultz	J. Strempfer	E. Hoffmann	J. Goos
1894 Hanover	A. R. Schultz	J. Strempfer	E. Hoffmann	J. Goos
1895 Elmira	A. R. Schultz	J. Strempfer	E. Hoffmann	J. Goos
1896 Hamilton	E. Hoffmann	E. Neudoerffer	E. M. Genzmer	J. Goos
1897 Waterloo	F. Hoffmann	E. Neudoerffer	E. M. Genzmer	J. Goos
1898 Logan	E. Hoffmann	E. Neudoerffer	B. Mueller	J. Goos
1899 Heidelberg	E. Neudoerffer	A. Blunck	J. Goos	E. Schuelke
1900 Normanby	E. Neudoerffer	A. Blunck	J. Goos	E. Schuelke
1901 Toronto	E. Neudoerffer	J. Langholtz	J. Goos	E. Schuelke
1902 Sullivan	E. Hoffmann	A. Blunck	J. Goos	G. Daechsel
1903 Conestogo	E. Hoffmann	A. Blunck	H. Rembe	G. Daechsel
1904 Zurich	E. Hoffmann	A. Blunck	H. Rembe	F. Loeb
1905 Sebastopol	E. Hoffmann	A. Blunck	H. Rembe	F. Loeb
1906 Berlin	E. Hoffmann	A. Blunck	H. Weigand	F. Loeb
1907 Pembroke	H. Rembe	A. Eggers	H. Weigand	F. Loeb
1908 Hamilton	H. Rembe	A. Eggers	H. Henkel	H. Twietmeyer
1909 Preston	E. Hoffmann	A. Eggers	H. Henkel	H. Twietmeyer
1910 Brant	E. Hoffmann	A. Eggers	H. Henkel	H. Twietmeyer
1911 Toronto	E. Hoffmann	J. Maass	H. Henkel	H. Twietmeyer
1912 New Hamburg	E. Hoffmann	J. Maass	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1913 Waterloo	E. Hoffmann	J. Strempfer	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1914 Elmwood	E. Hoffmann	J. Strempfer	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1915 Berlin	E. Hoffmann	J. Strempfer	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1916 Meeting cancelled				
1917 Hanover	E. Hoffmann	J. Strempfer	H. Henkel	E. Holm

1918 Elmira	M. Voelker	C. Zarnke	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1919 Preston	M. Voelker	O. Klaehn	H. Henkel	E. Holm
1920 Normanby Township	M. Voelker	O. Klaehn	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1921 Zurich	O. Klaehn	M. Voelker	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1922 Waterloo	O. Klaehn	M. Voelker	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1923 Conestogo	O. Klaehn	J. Reble	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1924 Logan Township	O. Klaehn	J. Reble	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1925 Sebastopol	J. N. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten	E. Holm
1926 Hamilton	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, A. Zinck)	E. Holm
1927 Milverton	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1928 Stratford	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1929 Zurich	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1930 Philipsburg	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1931 Kitchener	J. H. Reble	J. Maurer	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1932 Waterloo	J. H. Reble	N. Willison	H. Schorten (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1933 Normanby Township	J. H. Reble	N. Willison	H. R. Mosig (Eng. Sec'y, C. H. Little)	E. Holm
1934 Morrisburg	J. H. Reble	N. Willison	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm
1935 Sebastopol	J. H. Reble	N. Willison	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm
1936 Sullivan Township	J. H. Reble	N. Willison	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm
1937 Hanover	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm

<i>Place</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Vice-President</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>
1938 Pembroke	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm
1939 Neustadt	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (German Sec'y, H. R. Mosig)	E. Holm
1940 Stratford	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1941 Petawawa	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1942 Kitchener	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1943 Bornholm	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1944 Ayton	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y & Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann) (Stockmann statistician since 1920)	H. R. Mosig
1945 Milverton	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. H. Little (Ass't Sec'y & Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1946 Kitchener	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. R. Cronmiller (Ass't Sec'y & Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1947 Pembroke	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. R. Cronmiller (Ass't Sec'y & Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1948 Elmira	J. H. Reble	A. G. Jacobi	C. R. Cronmiller (Ass't Sec'y & Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1949 Hamilton	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller	C. R. Cronmiller (Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	H. R. Mosig
1950 Sebastopol	J. H. Reble	(Synod discontinued office of vice-president and German secretary)		E. A. Kalbfleisch
1951 Preston	J. H. Reble		(Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann) C. R. Cronmiller (Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	E. A. Kalbfleisch

1952 Toronto	J. H. Reble	C. R. Cronmiller (Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1953 Waterloo	J. H. Reble	K. Knauff (Statistician, O. T. C. Stockmann)	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1954 Kitchener	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann President Emeritus: J. H. Reble	(President-elect A. G. Jacobi commencing September 1, 1953) K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1955 Ottawa	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann President Emeritus: J. H. Reble	K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1956 Port Colborne	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann President Emeritus: J. H. Reble	K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1957 Kitchener	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann President Emeritus: J. H. Reble	K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1958 Pembroke	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann Rev. Eric Reble—Secretary-elect, September 1, 1958	K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1959 Waterloo	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann Secretary E. Reble resigned following a call to India	Eric Reble	E. A. Kalbfleisch
1960 Kitchener	A. G. Jacobi Assistant to the President: N. Berner Statistician: O. T. C. Stockmann President Emeritus: J. H. Reble	K. Knauff	E. A. Kalbfleisch

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The bibliography and list of references is not intended to be complete. Many statements in this work are based on a few lines gleaned here and there from Minutes of Synods. To cite every source would add many unnecessary pages to this appendix. References given are deemed sufficient to arouse interest and lead to further research.

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2. (a) The original manuscript of *Navigatio Septentrionalis* is deposited in the University Library at Copenhagen (ms. Additamenta No. 184). It is in the original that the prayers are recorded.

(b) A new Danish edition was issued in 1883 by P. Lauridsen. It is an accurate reprint of the 1624 edition and contains original maps and woodcuts. The translation printed in this *History* has been made from the 1883 edition. A private translation was made for the author by Mr. Sven Larsen, Ottawa, Ontario.

(c) C. C. A. Gosch, op. cit., II. This translation was not known to the author of the present work until after the translation was made by Mr. Sven Larsen. In a few instances where Larsen's translation appeared heavy, the Gosch translation was consulted, and phrases from the latter used.

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13. Besides Schwartz, a few more Germans who accompanied Cornwallis in 1794, deserve a mention:

"Major Leonard Lochman was a German doctor and practised his profession in early life. He came out with the settlers in 1749, and resided

in the north suburbs where he built a residence for himself. He received the rank of Major in the army for services performed to the British Government. He died at Halifax and was buried under the little Old Dutch Church. The street between Brunswick Street and the water was named Lochman Street, in compliment to the Major." Collections, "Nova Scotia Historical Society, VII, p. 234.

"Peter Bergman, who wrote the short historical account found in the earliest Record Book of St. George's, and Gottlieb Schermeiller, another church councilman of St. George's, accompanied Cornwallis. Schermeiller, a butcher by trade, arrived in the ship *Charlton* with wife and one child, June, 1749."

14. Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, VI, p. 137; *Ibid.*, p. 140, "Two ships arrived early in 1751 with German settlers forwarded by Mr. Dick."

15. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 107 (Records in full the wording of this document).

16. A. H. Eaton, *The Church in Nova Scotia & Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York, 1891), p. 54.

Re: Burger—*See also*: Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, VII, p. 74; *Ibid.*, p. 123; Report of S.P.G. under date of February, 1752, "Mr. Burger, upon recommendation of the Governor, and of Mr. Tutty and of Mr. Morreau, the Society's missionaries, hath come over to England to offer himself a candidate for holy orders of our church and to be appointed missionary to the Germans, who are already grown numerous in Nova Scotia; and he hath succeeded and hath been ordained and appointed missionary to the Germans and is now on his return to Nova Scotia." *See also*: *Year Book*, "Church Directory and Historical Records of St. Paul's Church," Halifax (Halifax, 1931). Under the heading, "The Clergy of St. Paul's," records Burger's name thus: "Rev. Rene Christian Burger, formerly a Lutheran minister."

17. Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, VI, pp. 144 and 145; Mosher, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

18. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 111. Roth quotes only question number 17. Mosher, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 16; Collections, Nova Scotia Historical Society, VI, pp. 152-153. All questions are quoted. The questions which are not printed in the present work are based upon the Apostle's Creed and its explanation.

20. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 120. The number of parishioners in St. George's at that time was 250.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

22. Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, VII, pp. 82 ff.; Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.; Report of the S.P.G. for the year 1786; Rev. George Wright was principal of the Halifax Grammar School and Chaplain of the Garrison.

23. Mosher, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

25. *St. George's Parish Magazine* (Halifax, N.S., August, 1933), No. 8, p. 5.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

27. Legally the Old Dutch Church did not pass into the hands of the Anglicans until the N.S. Legislature passed an Act to that effect in 1827.

28. Arthur Hamilton Eaton, *History of King's County, N.S.* (Salem, Mass., 1910), p. 240.

The full action of the Assembly in designating the Church of England as the "Established Church" is given on pp. 39-44 of A. H. Eaton's *The Church in N.S. and Tory Clergy of the Revolution*.

Two matters of dispute over real estate arose between St. Paul's Anglican and St. George's Lutheran Church, which were both decided in favor of St. Paul's, simply because it was the Established Church. We quote from Nova Scotia Historical Society, VII, pp. 78-80: "This (dispute) arose from the bequest of a certain Melchoir of his estate to 'the Parish'; meaning, as is probable, the German church. But St. Paul's parish, being the only legal Parish Church in Halifax, claimed the property in question." . . . "It may be stated here that this was not the only cause of contention. Later on, in the history of both churches, a piece of property at the east end of the Dutch churchyard, bequeathed to the German Church, was seized upon by St. Paul's church, on the plea that it alone represented 'the Church.' This property was retained in spite of the efforts of St. George's."

29. *Year Book, St. Paul's Church, Halifax* (1931).

30. "Stephen's letter to Hope" (June 30, 1842).

31. The voluminous correspondence of the Lords of Trade with Johann Dick may be seen by referring to *Brynmor's Canadian Archives* (1894), pp. 150-187. The correspondence covered three years. The total number sent by Dick from 1750-1753 was 1,615.

32. The entire number of settlers was 1,453, chiefly Germans, Swiss and French. The Rev. Jean Baptiste Morreau, missionary to the French, states that by the end of the first year, three-fourths of the people had died. Disease, exposure and the barbarous Indian accounted for this large toll. The French element among the first settlers numbered fifty families. They were part of the group referred to by Thomas B. Akins in *The Rise and Progress of the Church of England*, where on p. 17 he states: "In 1752, five hundred protestants of the Confession of Augsburg arrived at Halifax from Montbelliard." These, though of the "Confession of Augsburg," were taken under the wing of the Anglican church and supplied by the French missionary, Jean Baptiste Morreau. However, there are yet many of the descendants of these French immigrants connected with the Lutheran churches of Lunenburg County.

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40. *Ibid.*, Chap. XXIX; Des Brisay, op. cit., p. 96.

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